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Christian unity

PLATE I.

Some of the Delegates of the World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne, Aug. 3rd-21st, 1927.

[*front.*

CHRISTIAN UNITY

ITS HISTORY AND CHALLENGE IN ALL COMMUNIONS, IN ALL LANDS

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Deputy Chairman of the World Conference on Faith and Order.

WITH FOUR PLATES AND THREE CHARTS

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DEDICATED

WITH LOVING AND SACRED MEMORY TO

M. H. S.

WHO HATH JOINED

" the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence ; live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
Of miserable ends that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge men's search
To vaster issues."

INTRODUCTION

BY

THE RT. REV. WILLIAM TEMPLE, D.D., D.LITT. (Oxon),
Archbishop of York.

I am greatly honoured by the privilege of being allowed to contribute a brief introduction to this survey of the Church's age-long concern for unity. There has not been in the world hitherto, so far as I know, any survey of that field that can compare with this in thoroughness and completeness.

There can be no doubt about the need for such a survey. Our efforts in the direction of Re-union are often hampered by lack of precise understanding of the positions historically adopted by the various communions in their dealings with one another. This volume will help to supply that lack at every turn, and so give conspicuous service to the cause of Re-union.

And no cause can more deserve our ungrudging service. On every side the Church of Christ is hampered by its divisions. More and more Christians are forced to realize that all over the world they are confronting a common enemy, whose most familiar name is Secularism. We have still to fight the flesh and the devil; but the most potent of the ancient trio is now the world—a world with high and even exacting ethical standards in some respects, with a great wealth of culture and much delicacy of refinement. It is an enemy all-pervasive, and the more deadly because it offers much satisfaction to man's higher nature. But it ignores the spiritual life and gives no recognition to God. Throughout Africa and Asia no less than in Europe, America and Australasia, this is the real and only formidable enemy of Christianity. Against such a concentration of the hostile force Christianity too must present a united front—not necessarily of uniformity or detailed agreement, but of fundamental faith and action.

Towards such a unity this study of unity and division in the past will greatly assist.

INTRODUCTION

BY

THE REV. ALFRED E. GARVIE, M.A. (Oxon), D.D.,

Principal of Hackney and New College, Deputy Chairman of the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order, President of the Federal Council of the Free Churches of England.

IT is a common assumption of those who are indifferent to one of the most important movements of to-day in the Church of Christ that the aspiration and endeavour for the re-union of the churches, the manifestation to the world of their unity in their one Head, is a new-fangled imagination and a passing adventure. A service is rendered to the great cause by every effort to show that throughout the Christian centuries there have been Christian men to whom the divisions of Christendom were a scandal, as an injury to the highest interests of mankind, and an offence against the love of Christ Himself. The late Professor Briggs of New York proposed that there should be recognized as a necessary branch of theological knowledge what he called *eirenics*, the study of the efforts at reconciling differences and removing divisions in the Christian Church. Dr. Slosser has with intense enthusiasm for the cause of Christian unity devoted himself for several years with diligence and discernment to the study of such eirenic endeavours : and has produced a book, showing wide knowledge and sound judgment, which will be of great value for the furtherance of the movement towards re-union. The study of the past gives guidance for the future. Any success gained offers encouragement : any mistake made affords warning. The evidence such a book supplies of the number and the variety of such proposals, made by serious and earnest Christians, assures the worker for this end to-day that he is in a worthy succession ; and that it is surely the purpose of God that the unity of the Church should be restored. As one who on the one hand regards this purpose as one of the divine constraints on his own prayer, hope, and labour, and on the other hand has had the privilege of giving some counsel and help to the author in the preparation of this work, it gives me exceptionally keen pleasure to write these words of appreciation and commendation by way of introducing an American author to British readers.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

New College,
London.

PREFACE

THE author has attempted in this treatise to present a critical survey of the movements towards unity within Christendom, including all the Churches of all lands from the time of Apostolic Christianity until the present day. He has tried to construct a disinterested, accurate, and standard history which avoids preconceived notions, prejudice, or bias of any sort. He has not hesitated to adopt the course of recording the facts, without either undue censure or praise. Neither has he constructed a narrative with the idea of discrediting or exalting any particular creed, confession or polity. He would remind his readers that the challenge which is present throughout is a comprehensive visible unity in the Church of Christ, and that when any event or the doctrine or polity of any one group is analysed and evaluated, that analysis and evaluation have this challenge to unity in mind. In other words, wherever criticism is made, it is made not upon the event, doctrine, or polity as such, but upon them as they help or hinder progress towards the goal of unity for which Christ prayed.

It is altogether likely that the extremists of all groups will find this book fit only for anathemas. Too many Christian leaders and too many Church historians would re-write Paul's concluding words to his classic on Love by insisting that " the greatest of these is " faith, or probably polity. The highest points in the history of the Church have been when love was made to be uppermost, that love not being compromising weakness, but holy love which puts error and evil to rout by the power of the Spirit of God manifested in a crucified resurrected Christian life. Church history should henceforth give greater prominence to the efforts to maintain or attain unity, rather than to emphasize the quarrels and divisions. Sometimes genuine love leads to division. But the time has probably arrived when the setting up of any more standards in rival camps merely increases the already disgraceful scandal of divisions.

In the writing of this History, mistakes will have been made. Be assured that only the most gracious good-will has governed the pen. The author will consider it a very great favour if all errors as to fact are brought to his attention for correction.

I wish to express my very great appreciation to the Archbishop of York, Dr. William Temple, who is always a great and much trusted leader in any Œcumenical Church Assembly in which he may appear, and to the Rev. Alfred E. Garvie, M.A., D.D., President of the Federal Council of the Free Churches of England, and Deputy Chairman of the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order, for their having written such gracious Introductions. I am especially indebted to Dr. Garvie for many kindnesses to me both while in England and as a Delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church to the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne in 1927.

My thanks are due to that brilliant writer of Church History and one of the greatest living authorities on the mediæval period, the Rev. Principal H. B. Workman, M.A., D.D., by whose kind invitation I was permitted to live in the Westminster Training College several months. The Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D., and the Rev. C. S. Macfarland, D.D., respectively President and Executive Secretary of the American Federal Council of Churches, very graciously placed some of their secretarial force at my service in collecting many valuable source books for the Americas, Continental Europe, and Great Britain. Mr. A. I. Ellis, Superintendent of the British Museum Reading Room, the Rev. C. J. Prescott, D.D., of Newington College, N.S.W., Australia, and the Rev. Carleton Lacy, D.D., of Shanghai, China, each have helped me to gain access to valuable materials. The officials of the United Church and the continuing Presbyterian Church of Canada were very kind in assisting me to obtain most of the published material in connection with events in that Dominion. I am greatly indebted to Sir Henry Lunn, Editor of *The Review of the Churches*, to Dr. Peter Ainslie, Editor of *The Christian Union Quarterly*, and to Dr. William C. Poole, the President of the World's Sunday School Association, for their kind assistance in many ways. To the gracious people of the Lower Clapton Congregational Church of London, who were so kind while I acted as their pastor, I express my deepest gratitude.

The author was privileged in 1925–1926 to make an extended world tour, visiting the Churches and Mission fields of many lands, and conversing with their leaders. As an American Pastor, he has been the President of interdenominational groups of ministers and of a city Federation of Churches. He therefore knows that there is an increasing yearning that Christ's followers shall be united. For the method of treatment and the opinions expressed in this treatise, the author alone is responsible.

This History is the substance of a Thesis submitted and accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Church History from King's College of the University of London. My Tutor during my research was the Rev. Claude Jenkins, M.A. (Oxon), D.D., F.S.A., of the Chair of Ecclesiastical History of King's College, and Librarian of the Lambeth Library. I wish to pay great tribute to him as a bibliographer and director of research as well as a brilliant and accurate scholar.

Lastly, I wish to record my great indebtedness to my wife, whose help with the research and with the typing of the manuscripts, besides her capable performance of many of the tasks in connection with the index and publication, have constituted an invaluable aid rendered by one who shares with her husband the sincere desire to be of some definite service unto Christ, the Church's One Head, One Body, and One Foundation.

GAIUS JACKSON SLOSSER.

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PERIOD I

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND MEDIEVAL EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN A UNITED CHRISTENDOM, A.D. 33–1648

" Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word ; that they may all be one ; even as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be in us ; that the world may believe that thou didst send me."

—S. John xvii, 20–21.

" Hear, O Israel : the Lord our God is one Lord : and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might."

—Deuteronomy vi, 4–5.

" With all lowliness and meekness, with longsuffering, forbearing one another in love ; giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling ; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."

—Ephesians iv, 2–6.

" For the peace of the whole world, the welfare of the Holy Church of God, and the union of them all, let us beseech the Lord."

—Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.

CHRISTIAN UNITY

ITS HISTORY AND CHALLENGE

CHAPTER I

Church Councils and Christian Unity Before the Peace of Westphalia, 1648

History is sometimes defined as the composite biography of leading men. Church history may be so characterized. For the most part, the contributions made by the various individuals, whether for good or ill, were made to count most for the present and future by their being formulated into items of policy, canons of practice, or statements of creed which were adopted either by the whole Church or by a considerable portion of the Church in a representative Council. It is especially true that the history of the Church of the first eight centuries hinges very largely round certain greater or lesser Councils, with their antecedents and consequents.

We are living in a day when ecclesiastical gatherings of more or less magnitude, with an increasingly interdenominational significance as well as international and inter-racial import, are being held. All of these look toward progress in the matter of inter-Church comity, co-operation, federation, re-union, or at least to a better understanding of one another's position. While the history of some of the great Councils of Christendom has been written as though their primary object were the confutation of heresy, the fact is that their chief aim was the uniting of the supposedly more orthodox forces, who thereby would be in a better position both to suppress supposed evil and to further the good.[1]

[1] C. J. Hefele, *A History of the Christian Councils*, 5 vols. Translated by William R. Clark. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1871–1896. Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 5–6. Here six grounds for the convocation of Œcumenical Councils in particular are given, all pertaining to the unity of the Church. The six grounds are: 1. When a dangerous heresy or schism has arisen. 2. When two Popes oppose each other, and it is doubtful which is the true one. 3. When the question is whether to decide on some great undertaking against the enemies of the Christian name. 4. When the Pope is suspected of heresy or other serious faults. 5. When the cardinals have been unable or unwilling to undertake the election of a Pope. 6. When it is a question of the reformation of the Church, in its heads and members. It is interesting to note that the foregoing grounds are omitted in the "histoire des Conciles," the revised and augmented edition of Hefele's work by Henri Leclercq, Paris, 1907. This omission from the seven-volume edition of the revision is explained by the Dogma of Papal Infallibility of the Vatican Council of 1870, having been promulgated between the publication of these two editions.

As the modern movements tending toward either Christian federation or re-union gain momentum, it is being made more and more plain by certain branches of the Christian Church that a proper minimum basis for universal re-union is to be found in the pronouncements of the first, and only, seven Œcumenical Councils of the undivided Church, namely: the First Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325; the First Council of Constantinople, 381; the Council of Ephesus, 431; the Council of Chalcedon, 451; the Second General Council of Constantinople, 553; the Third General Council of Constantinople, 680–681; and the Second Council of Nicæa, 787.

While the term "œcumenical" has been applied, since the division of the Eastern and Western Churches, to certain Councils both in Protestantism and Catholicism, strictly speaking, "œcumenical" can be applied only to a Council which includes at least all the major bodies of Christendom and whose decisions are accepted by the whole Church. This term has practically the same connotation as the terms "general," "universal," or "catholic." St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, wrote that "the Church is called Catholic because it extends throughout all the world from one end of the earth to the other; and because it teaches universally and completely all the doctrines which ought to come to the knowledge of men concerning things visible and invisible, heavenly and earthly; and because it brings into subjection to godliness the whole race of mankind, governors and governed, learned and ignorant; and because it treats and heals universally every class of sins that are committed in soul and body, and possesses in itself every virtue which is named, both in deeds and in words, and in every kind of spiritual gifts."[1] No single Church to-day, possessing any degree of modesty, would profess to fulfil in itself all of the requirements for catholicity as indicated by St. Cyril.

It may be claimed that the seven Councils, termed Œcumenical, were not of an undivided Church. The Monatists, the Novatians, the Arians, the Donatists, the Nestorians, the Monophysites, and the Monothelites may each of them have been far more numerous and respectable groups, of at least passable Christians, than they are pictured as being in the writings of those who condemned them. Unfortunately, we are forced to view these groups through the eyes of their enemies, since, up to this time, very meagre, unbiased sources of information have been discovered. It would seem to be quite probable that, as the Church adopted the ideals of Ignatius (and later those of Cyprian), for the most part as a matter of practical regulation and discipline in the face of internal dissensions and heresies and external attacks by rival philosophies and cults, there was an increasing group of freedom-loving Christians who really were not within the official fold of the Church.

But, however strictly non-œcumenical the first seven Councils were, they are now, for all practical purposes, regarded as having been General Councils of the Universal Church. It will be well for us to review their findings since these findings are certain more and

[1] See *Catechetical Lectures*, XVIII, 23.

more to figure largely in all movements looking toward Universal Christian union. After reviewing the First Council at Jerusalem, the seven Œcumenical Councils will be considered in chronological order.

THE COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM, A.D. 49[1]

The occasion of this Council was a threatened division in the Apostolic Christian Church as to the extent to which Judaism, especially the so-called Mosaical laws, was to be carried over into Christianity, particularly Gentile Christianity. Paul and Barnabas, fresh from good success in winning Gentiles to the Christian way on their first missionary tour, met with Judaizers, at Syrian Antioch, who insisted that all Gentile Christians should be circumcised. It was finally determined to lay the matter before the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. This was done. Peter was the chief apostolic apologist for the conduct of Paul and Barnabas, defending their conduct. James, our Lord's brother, presided; and, after making an address confirming Peter's words, he pronounced the sentence now familiar to all. Paul and Barnabas were given letters of commendation to be carried by Judas and Silas, who should accompany them, these letters being addressed to the brethren of the Gentiles from "the apostles and elders and brethren." Thus a threatened division was averted. In the body of this letter occurred the words, "it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us," indicating that the Holy Ghost was definitely recognized as the superior authority in the Council.

Many exceedingly important lessons may be drawn from this historic First Council and its entire proceedings. Some of them are as follows: (1) the crux of the dissension was the putting of the new wine of the Gospel into the old bottles of Judaism[2]; (2) the old bottles in question were what would be termed the very best of what Judaism had to offer, excepting prophecy, namely, the law of Moses and circumcision; (3) Peter was the chief spokesman at this First Council. He preached salvation by faith, and acknowledged that the Gentiles had received the Holy Spirit directly, just as had the apostles and others at Jerusalem. (4) James, our Lord's brother, presided at the Council and was the deliverer of its final judgment. (5) It was the Council, as a whole, and neither Peter nor James as individuals, which arrived at the conclusion (v. 28). (6) The Holy Spirit is named ahead of the members of the Council as being credited with the final decision. (7) Along with Paul and Barnabas, Judas and Silas were especially delegated to bear the Council's decision, in

[1] See Acts xv.

[2] See W. O. E. Oesterly, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, London, p. 97 *ff.* for a very scholarly presentation of some of the positive contributions of Judaism to Christianity. Many scholars agree that the elders or presbyters were a copy of synagogue elders. The early Christian Church service in many places, especially in Jewish communities, quite likely contained at least the best features of the Synagogue services of worship.

the shape of an epistle, back to Antioch. According to Acts xiii, 1, and xv, 32, all four men were termed prophets, the term "teachers" being also applied to Paul and Barnabas.

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL

THE FIRST COUNCIL OF NICÆA, A.D. 325[1]

The real underlying causes leading to the calling of this First Œcumenical Council were the divisions in the Eastern portion of the Church relative to the unity of substance and the co-eternity of the Father and Son. In the West, Tertullian and Novatian had by their leadership brought practical unanimity in thought relative to these matters. But in the East, where there was a much greater tendency to speculation, and where Origen's writings were capable of varied interpretations, there were divisions. These divisions came to a climax in what proved to be the immediate occasion of this Council, namely, the quarrel between Bishop Alexander (312–328), of Alexandria, and Arius who was a presbyter of the Baucalis Church of Alexandria. The latter taught that Christ was not co-eternal with the Father, but was the first-born of the creatures and had a beginning. Christ was neither fully God nor fully man.

The Emperor Constantine, who by his victory over Licinius had recently become master of the East as well as of the West, was naturally opposed to any ecclesiastical quarrels that might divide the Empire. Through his principal ecclesiastical adviser, Bishop Hosius of Cordova, in Spain, he sent a letter counselling peace.[2] But this failed to bring peace. Hence, as he had dealt with the Donatist controversy at Arles by summoning the bishops of the West over which he then ruled, he now summoned all the bishops of both East and West to meet at Nicæa. Bishop Hosius was present at this Council and as president[3] was one of its leading figures, the Emperor Constantine's adjutant and chief adviser. Professor Friedrich Loofs[4] holds that it was Western influence, embodied in Hosius and supported by the Emperor, which wrote "ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί" (of one substance with the Father), into the Creed. Athanasius (295–373), though but thirty years of age at the time of the Council and the private Secretary of Bishop Alexander, was a leading figure there, and certainly the chief later defender of the Nicene faith. He saw that the danger of Arianism was its threat to the true means of salvation, and so attacked it. Christ, in his teaching, was both wholly man and wholly God.

The Council sat for two months and two days with three hundred

[1] Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome I, Première Partie, p. 386 *ff.*; Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 262 *ff.*; and Philip Schaff, *History of the Creeds*, Vol. I, p. 24 *ff.*, 43 *ff.*

[2] See *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius, 2; 64–72.

[3] See J. Hardouin, *Conciliorum Collectio Regia Maxima*, 12 vols., Paris, 1715, Additional Vol., 1772, i, 311–213, for list of signatures. Hosius presided, even though the legates of Pope Sylvester, Vito and Vincentius, were present.

[4] *Realencyklopädie für prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, 2; 14, 15.

and eighteen bishops present.[1] Being in the pay of the Emperor Constantine, who was himself in attendance though he had not been baptized, and who was the guiding genius of Bishop Hosius, the bishops were marked for faithful attendance at each session. There are many excellent descriptions of this Council extant. Our chief interest lies in the Creed as finally formulated and in the canons enacted for the regulation of Church discipline.

Chief amongst the canons enacted was first one fixing a uniform date for Easter. According to this article, Easter must be celebrated throughout the world on Sunday; this Sunday must follow the fourteenth day of the Paschal moon, which moon was to be the one whose fourteenth day followed the spring equinox; and some arrangement should be made for those best fitted to make astronomical calculations, which was probably the Alexandrian Church, to determine the proper date for Easter and communicate the same to the other Churches. They also enacted a canon requiring all to stand while praying on Sundays or during the Paschal season. Action was taken disciplining Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, for ordaining outside his own diocese. Various canons were enacted to facilitate the return of those who had left the Church because of the treatment of the lapsed, and the readmission of the Novatians. Canons were formulated and adopted relative to clerics and women; to bishops, priests and deacons not passing from one Church to another; to indulgences being freely granted to persons in danger of death; the Bishops of Jerusalem to enjoy peculiar honours; relative to episcopal elections; relative to the excommunicate; relative to patriarchs and their jurisdiction; clerics are forbidden to lend at interest; deacons are subordinate to priests; rules for the readmission into the Church of the followers of Paul of Samosata; a bishop is forbidden to ordain for his diocese a cleric belonging to another diocese; and certain other regulative or disciplinary canons.

This Council's chief contribution to the Church was the Creed they finally adopted, known to-day as the Nicene Creed, proper, as distinguished from the Nicæano-Constantinopolitan Creed. It is not this Creed, but the Nicæano-Constantinopolitan Creed (loosely called the Nicene Creed), that is regarded as the Œcumenical Creed of all Churches. The anathemas at the close of the earlier Nicene Creed render it objectionable to some. Nevertheless, because of its chronological priority and because of its being the Creed of the supremely important First Œcumenical Council, we record it here.

"We believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας) of the Father: God of God, light of light, true God of true God, begotten not made, that is, of the same substance with the Father (ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί) through whom all things were made both in heaven and on earth; who for us men and our salvation descended, was incarnate, and was

[1] Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. 3, pp. 623–624. This number was about one-sixth of all the bishops of the Empire. Including the presbyters, deacons, and attendants, the number of the Council may have reached 1,500 or 2,000.

made man, suffered and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven and cometh to judge the living and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost. Those who say: There was a time when He was not, and He was not before He was begotten; and that He was made out of nothing (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων); or that He was of another substance (than the Father) or that the Son of God is created, or mutable, or subject to change, them the Catholic Church anathematizes."[1]

This First Nicene Council thus, for a time, at least, brought a measure of unity to the Church. Great opposition very soon arose with Eusebius of Nicomedia as the leader. The persistency of the opposition is indicated by the fact that Athanasius, Alexander's successor and the chief defender of the Nicene faith, was banished five times during his term as the Bishop of Alexandria (328–373).

THE SECOND ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL

THE FIRST COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 381[2]

This was a Council composed of one hundred and fifty bishops, mostly, if not all, from the East. It was called by the Emperor Theodosius I. The presidents of this Council, in succession, were Meletius, Bishop of Antioch; Gregory of Nazianzus, Bishop of Constantinople; and Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople. Neither Pope Damasus nor any Papal representative was present. Very little is authentically known of the gathering. In later years it came to be regarded as the Second Œcumenical Council, and the probable creator of the Nicæano-Constantinopolitan or Nicene Creed. Without further questioning as to what the Council did or did not do, it will be quite proper to set down here those regulations, or canons, and the Creed commonly attributed to it. It is known that, of the Homoiousion Party, the Macedonians refused to believe in the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit. It is believed that the First Council at Constantinople took action contrary to this Party and re-stated the Nicene Creed of 325, with some positive statements as to the Holy Spirit.

The work of this Council may be summarized as follows: (1) Drew up a special statement on the doctrine of the Trinity. (2) Condemned Apollinarianism which taught that Christ had the Logos as His reasoning spirit, while his body and soul were merely human. (3) Enacted seven canons; (*a*) categorically condemned Macedonianism (denial of the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit), and Arianism; (*b*) reviewed and re-enforced the regulative legislation of the First Council of Nicæa relative to diocesan and patriarchal limits; (*c*) decided that, Constantinople being the New Rome, its bishop should have the pre-eminence of honour after the bishop of Old Rome; invalidated the consecration of Maximus, the cynic philosopher and opposer of

[1] See Philip Schaff, *History of the Creeds*, Vol. I, p. 24 *ff.* and p. 34 *ff.*

[2] Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome II, Part I, p. 1 *ff.*; Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 340 *ff.*; P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. III, p. 638 *ff.*, p. 667 *ff.*

St. Gregory of Nazianzus as Bishop of Constantinople. (4) Revised and, in the revised form, set forth the earlier Nicene Creed, which came to be known as the Nicæano-Constantinopolitan or Nicene Creed. The Creed is as follows :

" We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and born of the Father before all ages. (God of God), light of light, true God of true God. Begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made. Who, for us men and our salvation, came down from heaven. And was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary and was made man ; was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried ; and the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures. And ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. (And we believe) in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceeded from the Father (and the Son),[1] who together with the Father and the Son is to be adored and glorified, who spake by Prophets. And one holy, catholic and apostolic Church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins. And we look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen."

THE THIRD ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL

THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 431[2]

Theodosius II. was Emperor of Rome, Celestine I. was Pope. Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria (412–444), attacked Nestorius who had been made Patriarch of Constantinople in 428. Nestorius held that while Christ had one name, he had two natures, the " essential characteristics in the nature of the divinity and in the humanity are to all eternity distinguished." Cyril held to an almost opposite teaching, namely, that the divinity of Christ was so preponderant that His humanity was quite secondary. Nestorius was said to have preached also against applying the term θεοτόκος (Theotokos) to the mother of Jesus, thus calling her the Mother of God. From the standpoint of the soundness of Christological doctrine, Nestorius, who had declared his faith in " both natures by which the highest and unmixed union are adored in the one person of the Only Begotten," was nearer orthodoxy than was Cyril. However, Rome and Alexandria were anxious to humiliate Constantinople, hence Celestine I. and Cyril of Alexandria combined against Nestorius at the Council called for 431, by the two Emperors, Theodosius II. of the East and Valentian III. of the West. Cyril, with his Party, and Nestorius were on hand early, but not so the friends of Nestorius. Cyril and Memnon, the Bishop of Ephesus, quickly organized, with the former

[1] " and the Son " added by the Western Church, first at the Council of Toledo, 589 A.D.

[2] Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome II, Part I, Chap. II, p. 287 *ff.*; Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, Chap. II, p. 40 *ff.* ; P. Schaff, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 722 *ff.*

presiding[1] (Pope Celestine I. being absent), and secured the condemnation of Nestorius in a single day's session. In a few days the friends of Nestorius, with John the Patriarch of Antioch as their leader, arrived. They soon organized and condemned Cyril and Memnon, whereupon followed the deposal of John by the Cyril group, aided by the Papal legates who had just arrived. The final outcome was the signing by Cyril of a satisfactory creed professing Christ as "complete God and complete man," which guaranteed Cyril's good standing. Although Nestorius could have signed the same creed with even greater alacrity, the course of events now led to his banishment to Upper Egypt. Thus the schism of the Nestorians had its inception.

This same Council of Ephesus condemned Pelagianism and, as just indicated, affirmed the unity of the person of Christ. The Papal legates having been present, Cyril had little difficulty in getting his Council recognized, and it has always been listed as the Third Œcumenical Council.

THE FOURTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, 451[2]

The events leading to the calling of this Council by Pulcheria (sister of Theodosius II.) and her husband, Marcian, acting in conjunction with Pope Leo I., grew out of the continuation of the quarrel of the Alexandrian Patriarchate with Antioch, particularly with the School of Antioch, of which Nestorius had been a product. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, had died in 444, and had been succeeded by Dioscoros. In 446 Flavian became Bishop of Constantinople. Dioscoros sought a quarrel with Flavian, and soon found a basis in the condemnation of one, Eutyches, Archimandrite of Constantinople, and enemy, with Dioscoros, of all things Nestorian. So Dioscoros set out to defend Eutyches and to enhance himself. At his suggestion the Emperor Theodosius II. called a Council at Ephesus, which met in 449. Eutyches was re-instated, Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylæum, who had accused Eutyches, were condemned. The famous Tome or letter of Pope Leo I. (Leo the Great), written to Flavian, setting forth that in Christ there are two full and complete natures, was denied a reading. The Pope denounced the Council at Ephesus as a "synod of robbers." Although unable to get Theodosius II. to call a Council, the way was opened by his death and the succession of his sister, Pulcheria, and her husband, Marcian, to the throne. The Council was called to meet at Nicæa in 451, but it finally met at Chalcedon,[3] just opposite to Constantinople, in the same year. Here

[1] J. Hardouin, *op. cit., Acts of Ephesus*, i, 1353, 1456, 1468, 1485, 1509, etc.

[2] Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome II, Part 2, p. 649 *ff.*; Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 285 *ff.*; P. Schaff, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 740 *ff.*

[3] The Imperial Commissioners and, in the sixth session, the Emperor Marcian presided, the Papal legates of Pope Leo I. having the chief place among the delegates. See J. Hardouin, *op. cit., Acts of Chalcedon*, ii, 53, 65, 68, 69, etc., also *idem*, Art. VI, ii, 485–489.

about six hundred bishops assembled. All present, except the Papal legates and two others, were from the East.

This Council of Chalcedon enacted twenty-eight important canons, as given below, in addition to the formation of the so-called Chalcedonian Definition, which has ever since been regarded by the larger part of Christendom as the correct solution of the Christological problem. Because responsible leaders of the Swedish, the Old Catholic, the Anglican, the Eastern and the Roman branches of the Church all refer to the conclusions of the seven Œcumenical Councils as being the proper starting point for a basis of re-union, it will be well for all the twenty-eight canons and the doctrinal definitions of Chalcedon to be recorded here. The canons adopted may be summarized as follows :

(1) Approved canons of previous synods. (2) Severe penalties against those who conferred Ecclesiastical orders or positions for money, or received such orders or positions for money, or acted as intermediaries in such transactions. (3) Forbade secular traffic to all ecclesiastics except in interests of minors, orphans, or other needy persons. Forbade erection of a monastery or oratory without permission of the proper Bishop. (4) Recommended to monks a life of retirement, mortification, and prayer, and forbade the reception of a slave within a monastery without the permission of his master. (5) Inculcated the canons of the previous synods concerning transfer of Bishops and clerics from one city to another. (6) No one to be ordained except he be assigned to some ecclesiastical office. (7) Forbade ecclesiastics to exercise the military art (public service in general), or to hold a secular office. (8) Decreed that the clerics of charitable homes, monasteries, or oratories of martyrs would be subject to the Bishop of the territory. (9) The ecclesiastics should conduct their lawsuits only before their Bishop, the synod of the province, the exarch, or the Bishop of Constantinople. (10) Forbade ecclesiastics to be enrolled in the Church registers of different cities. (11) Two sets of letters were to be given to Christians travelling abroad : all the poor, after due examination of their character, were to travel with letters of peace only ; to persons of exceptional merit letters of special commendation were to be given. (12) No prelate to divide his See and make himself a metropolitan. (13) Foreign clerics and readers to produce commendatory letters from their own Bishops before they are allowed to officiate in any city. (14) Provision made for the married life of Readers and Singers. Not to marry Jewesses, or pagan, or heretical women, except they promise to become Christians. (15) No deaconess to be ordained below the age of forty, and no person once ordained a deaconess to be allowed to leave that state and marry. (16) Forbade the marriage of virgins and monks consecrated to God. (17) Ordained that the parishes in rural districts should remain under the jurisdiction of their respective Bishops, but if a new city were built by the Emperor, its ecclesiastical organization should be modelled on that of the State. (18) Forbade conspiring and factious associations or the concocting of plots against Bishops or clerics. (19) The Bishops of the provinces to assemble twice a year for the regular synod. (20) Forbade the transfer of an eccle-

siastic from one city to another except in case of grave necessity. (21) Complaints against Bishops or clerics not to be heard except after investigation into the character of the accuser. (22) Forbade ecclesiastics to appropriate the goods of their deceased Bishop. (23) Forbade clerics or monks to sojourn in Constantinople without the permission of their Bishop. (24) Monasteries once established together with the property assigned to them should not be converted to other purposes. (25) Metropolitans should ordain Bishops of their provinces within three months from the vacancy. (26) Ecclesiastical property should not be administered by the Bishop alone, but by a special procurator or steward. (27) Decreed severe penalties on the abduction of women. (28) Ratified the third Canon of the Council of Constantinople, to the effect that the See of Constantinople retained its precedence and its patriarchal jurisdiction.[1]

The Creed or Definition of Chalcedon is as follows[2]: "We, then, following the holy Fathers, all with one consent, teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in manhood: Truly God and truly man of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; in all things like unto us, without sin; begotten before all ages of the Father according to the Godhead, and in these latter days, for us and our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God (Theotokos), according to the manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-Begotten, in two natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably, the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one person (prosopon) and one substance (hypostasis), not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-Begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ; as the prophets from the beginning have declared concerning Him, and as the Lord Jesus Christ Himself has taught us, and the creed of the holy Fathers has handed down to us."

THE FIFTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL

THE SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE,[3] MAY 5th TO JUNE 2nd, 553

Justinian, Emperor of Rome (527–562), was interested in theology and succeeded in making himself the actual head of the Church. While his reign began with a persecution of the Monophysites, his

[1] *Cf.* W. Bright, *Canons of the First Four Councils.*

[2] P. Schaff, *History of the Creeds*, Vol. 2, pp. 62–73; also Williston Walker, *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1925, pp. 151, 152.

[3] J. Hardouin, *op. cit.*, iii, 201, *Acts of Constantinople*, Coll. VIII. Eutychius, Bishop of Constantinople, presided, the Pope being neither present nor represented. See also Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome III, Part I, Chap. II, p. 68 *ff.*; Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 229 *ff.*; P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. III, p. 770 *ff.*

Empress, Theodora, sympathized with them. Justinian then sought to further the Cyril-Alexandrian interpretations of the Chalcedonian Definition, and to oppose and remove any Antiochene-Nestorian interpretation of the same, hoping thereby to placate the Monophysites (Copts of Egypt), and win them back to the Church. He condemned the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who more than a century before had been the head of the School of Antioch, out of which Nestorius had come. He also condemned the criticisms of Cyril by Theodoret of Cyrus and a writing of Ibas of Edessa, to Maris the Persian, wherein it was denied that God the Word was incarnate in the Holy Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, and so was made man. Thus the Emperor, by condemning Theodoret and Ibas, whom the Council of Chalcedon had in a measure approved, really attacked the authority of that Council. He had, by edict, made impossible anything save a Cyril-of-Alexandrian interpretation of the Chalcedonian Definition. To make his edict the law of Christendom, Justinian convened the Fifth Œcumenical Council, or the Second General Council of Constantinople, 553 A.D.

At this Council there were one hundred and sixty-five bishops present, with the Emperor really in charge, though Pope Vigilius (537–555) was in Constantinople, but not in the Council. Only six of the bishops were Western, these coming from Africa. The presiding officer was Eutychius, the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The action of this Council may be summarized as follows: (1) Condemned the writings of Origen and certain writings of Theodore; also the writings of Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia (a pupil, with Chrysostom and Nestorius, of Diodorus), and of Ibas, and all other writings in defence of Nestorius. (2) Reviewed and re-emphasized with approval the findings of the first four Councils.

But the Monophysites, as for example, the Copts, were not won back. They had continued so long that they had become primarily a nationalistic movement with theological differences regarded as of secondary importance.

THE SIXTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL

THE THIRD COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, NOVEMBER 7th, 680 TO 681[1]

This Council was convened as the outcome of various circumstances relative to the question of the single or multiple energy or will of Christ, the Monothelites, as supposed heretics, teaching that Christ had but one will. Another factor was the jealousy that existed between the East and the West, and between the Emperor and the Pope. Briefly stated, the antecedent events of this Sixth General Council were as follows:

The Mohammedans had taken Damascus (635), Jerusalem and Antioch (638), and Alexandria (641). In 711, they crossed the Straits

[1] Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome III, Part I, Chap. II, p. 412 *ff.*; Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, Chap. II, p. 137 *ff.*; and P. Schaff, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 771 *ff.*

of Gibraltar and defeated the Visigothic monarchy, but were finally and permanently checked in 732 at Tours by the Franks, under Charles Martel. Thus much of the Roman Empire was either taken over by the Saracens, or else threatened. Under the stress of impending civic and economic disaster, Sergius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, negotiated with the Monophysites and all other Christian groups, and, with the Emperor Heraclius as leader, succeeded finally in inaugurating a union agreement in things Christological by the adoption of the theme that Christ hath " one divine-human energy." The Patriarch of Alexandria co-operated in the union effort, and the Monophysite Copts were partially conciliated. Opposition arose in the person of Sophronius, later Patriarch at Jerusalem; and Sergius of Constantinople, being afraid of this agitation, got in touch with Pope Honorius (625–638), who advised that they avoid the term " energy," stating that he believed that Christ had but one will. Then the Emperor Heraclius entered the discussion in 638, and issued his *Ekthesis*, written by Sergius, forbidding further discussions as to " energies," and declaring Christ to have had but one will.

However, Pope John IV. (640–642) branded the doctrine of the one will in Christ (Monothelitism) as heretical. Constans II. (642–668), the successor to Heraclius, published a *Typos* in 648. This prohibited the discussion of the will or wills of Christ. Pope Martin I. (649–655) saw in the situation an opportunity to advance himself and the Western Church, so, in a Synod which he convened in Rome in 649, he had it proclaimed that Christ had two wills, thus attacking the Patriarchs of Constantinople (Sergius and others), and the Emperors Heraclius and Constans II. for their part in issuing the *Ekthesis* and *Typos*. Constans II. had Martin I. arrested and brought as a prisoner to Constantinople, and finally exiled to the Crimea.

In the meantime the Mohammedans had captured the Monophysite countries, hence there no longer existed the demand for a movement to placate that group. Constantine IV. (668–685), successor to Constans II., now saw that his interests lay in winning the allegiance of Italy rather than that of the Monophysites, already hopelessly lost. He therefore began negotiations with Pope Agatho (678–681), and by Imperial Edict called what is now termed the Sixth Œcumenical Council to meet in Constantinople, 680–681. The Emperor,[1] the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, and one hundred and seventy-four bishops were present. The acts of this Council may be summarized as follows:

(1) The condemnation of the Monothelite heresy, by the affirmation of the reality of Christ's two wills, the human and the divine. (2) Declared the valid authority of the findings of the five preceding General Councils. (3) Recited and sanctioned the Nicene and Nicæano-Constantinopolitan Creeds. (4) Condemned numerous dignitaries accused of Monothelitism.

This Council completed the work of Christological and doctrinal

[1] The Emperor presided. See J. Hardouin, *op. cit.*, iii, 1056, *Acts of Constantinople*. The legates of Pope Agatho I. had the first place among the delegates. Certain authorities state that they presided. See Art., " The Third Council of Constantinople," *Cath. Encyc.*

definition of the early Church, but there remains one more General Council, the Seventh, to be reviewed ere we have completed what are regarded, especially by the Eastern Orthodox Church, as those Councils which gave to Christendom its Œcumenical Catholic dogma and polity.

THE SEVENTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL

THE SECOND COUNCIL OF NICÆA 787[1]

Gradually pictures, images and relics came to be adored in both the Eastern and Western Churches. The Emperor Leo III. (717–740), who was anxious to make it easy for certain converts, especially those from the Mohammedans and Jews (all of whom declared image worship to be idolatry), to accept Christianity, and for the Montanists to return to the Orthodox fold, forbade by Imperial Decree the use of icons, images, etc., in worship. A storm of protest arose under Pope Gregory III. (731–741) ; a Western Synod excommunicated those who opposed pictures. The son of Leo III., Constantine VI. (740–755), pursued the same policy as his father, condemning pictures in a synod which he had assembled at Constantinople. The Church of the West was so opposed that it sought the help of the Franks, and broke away entirely from the Eastern Emperors. Under Constantine VII. (780–797), who was greatly influenced by his mother, Irene, a partisan in favour of pictures, the imperial policy was reversed. By his decree the Second Council of Nicæa, or the Seventh Œcumenical Council, was convened in 787.[2] The Pope, Adrian I., concurred, and sent his legates, who presided. There were between three hundred and three hundred and sixty-seven bishops present.

The most notable decree of this Council was that pictures, the cross, and the Gospels "should be given due salutation and honourable reverence, not indeed that true worship which pertains alone to the divine nature." The twenty-two canons enacted contain very much that is both interesting and valuable if we would be acquainted with the evolution of the polity and doctrines of the ancient Church. The summary of these canons follows :

(1) The clergy must observe the holy canons, which include the Apostolic, those of the six previous Œcumenical Councils, those of the particular synods which have been published at other synods, and those of the Fathers. (2) Candidates for bishops' Orders must know the Psalter by heart, and must have read thoroughly, not cursorily, all the Sacred Scriptures. (3) Condemns appointments of bishops, priests, and deacons by secular princes. (4) Bishops are not to demand money of the clergy ; any bishop who, through covetousness, deprives one of his clergy, is himself to be deposed. (5) Against those who have obtained Church preferment with money, and calls attention

[1] Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome III, Part II, Chap. I, p. 1 *ff.* ; Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, Book VIII, Chap I, p. 260 *ff.* ; P. Schaff, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 495 *ff.*

[2] See J. Hardouin, *op. cit.*, IV, 28, 456, *Acts of Nicæa*, Act I, vii.

to the 13th Apostolic canon and canons of Chalcedon relative thereto. (6) Provincial synods are to be held annually. (7) Relics are to be placed in all churches ; no churches to be consecrated without relics. (8) Prescribes cautions to be taken against feigned converts from Judaism. (9) All writings against the venerable images are to be surrendered, to be shut up with other heretical books. (10) Against clerics who leave their own dioceses without permission and become private chaplains to great personages. (11) Every Church and every monastery must have its own œconomus or steward in charge of temporalities. (12) Against bishops or abbots who convey Church property to temporal lords. (13) Episcopal residences, monasteries and other ecclesiastical buildings converted to profane uses are to be restored to their rightful ownership. (14) Tonsured persons not ordained lectors must not read the Epistle or Gospel in the ambo. (15) No plurality of benefices. (16) Clergy must not wear sumptuous apparel. (17) Monks not to leave monasteries and begin building other houses of prayer without being provided with means to furnish the same. (18) Women not to dwell in bishops' houses or in monasteries of men. (19) Superiors of churches and monasteries are not to demand money of those who enter the clerical or monastic state. But the dowry brought by a novice to a religious house is to be retained by that house if the novice leaves it without any fault on the part of the superior. (20) Prohibits double monasteries. (21) A monk or nun may not leave one convent for another. (22) Among the laity, persons of opposite sexes may eat together, provided they give thanks and behave with decorum. But among religious persons, those of the opposite sexes may eat together only in the presence of several God-fearing men and women, except on a journey, when necessity compels.

WERE THESE COUNCILS TRULY GENERAL? BAXTER'S ANSWER

We have already stated that, while for all practical purposes the Christian Church of the first eight centuries has been regarded as a single unit, and its Councils as having been Œcumenical, there is very much evidence that there were, from time to time, and probably in increasing numbers, large groups of passable, or probably first-rate, Christians who either were driven into schism or voluntarily chose separation as a result of the Councils which we have just been reviewing. There were also considerable numbers of Christians who were not included in the invitations or orders creating these Councils, nor can they be said to have been officially represented at the same.

Richard Baxter (1615–1691), in his *The True and Only Way of Concord of all the Christian Churches*, published in 1680, argues strongly against the truly general character of the first so-called General Councils.[1] The gist of his argument follows : (1) The great disagreement about Councils proves that they can never be the terms of Universal Agreement, for we are not agreed as to who can call them ;

[1] Baxter, *The True and Only Way of Concord, etc.*, pp. 52–55.

nor out of what Christian countries they must come; nor what number is necessary; nor what their work or power is, or how far they are to be believed; nor what to do if they contradict each other, or the Pope, or the Scriptures. (2) It is certain that the Universal Church was never united in its subjection to Councils, *e.g.*, Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. At these "there were not delegates from all the Churches without the Empire; nor did they all subject themselves unto them: yea, it is certain, that there never was a Universal Council of the Church throughout the World: but they were only called General, as to one Empire, and so were but as National Councils; this I have elsewhere proved at large, in my Answer and Reply to Johnson for the Churches' Visibility." The Roman Emperor called them. No summons was sent to any (much less to all) out of the Empire, "as History acquainteth us." They were all under the five Patriarchs and the Metropolitans of the Empire. We read no Execution of their Canons out of the Empire, by either casting out Bishops or putting them in. Theodoret gave as the reason why James, Bishop of Nisibis, was at the Council of Nice as being that Nisibis then obeyed the Roman Emperor, and not the Persian. (*Hist. Sanct. Pat.* cap. I). The Emperors oft decided their differences and set Civil Judges among them to keep order, etc. "They were but Universal as to that one Empire (nay rarely, or never so much) and not as to the world."

It is most interesting to note further the reasons why Baxter believed that there never could be a General Council. In addition to the reasons hinted at in the foregoing, he argues that they could not meet in one room; that they could not understand each other; that "they would fall together by the ears and increase the schism; they would not live to get home; the people and priests at home would not agree to receive them."[1]

Baxter continues by saying that a Universal Council would be "worse than a hundred murders"—if young men came in just proportion, it would mock the world and prepare for heresy and tyranny. If experienced aged men came from America, Ethiopia, Armenia, and the Antipodes, "the voyage and labour would murder them." He concludes his evaluation of General Councils as a means for the promotion of Christian Unity by saying that "the sad history of Councils too fully proveth . . . that they have been one of the most notorious causes of division and distraction. . . . In a word, Councils of Bishops have been but the Church-Armies of which at first the Patriarchs were Generals, and afterwards Popes and Emperors, and came to fight it out for Victory, the sequel being usually Schism and Calamity."[2]

The opinion of Richard Baxter is in part the present-day opinion of large groups of Christendom. They believe that if it were possible for every denomination, party, or sect of Christendom to be represented at a Universal Council assembled to deliberate on matters of doctrine and polity, and to formulate an ecclesiastical basis for an organically united Christendom, the result would be an aggravation

[1] Richard Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[2] *Idem*, pp. 56–59. See also Baxter's *A Breviate of the History of Bishops and Councils*.

of the divisions, and a multiplication of the schisms. Those who hold this view believe that the proper approach toward unity is through a league, federation, or association for every form of Christian service, keeping doctrinal and polity differences entirely in the background. What will happen in the future may best be determined by what has happened in the past.

SCHISMS FOLLOWING EARLY COUNCILS

Following the Jerusalem Council, with its pronouncements against the interference of the Judaizers with the work of Christianizing the Gentiles, the Early Church practically divided into the Jewish Christian Church and the Gentile Christian Church, the former having been scattered and set on the road toward comparatively early and well-nigh total extinction, first by the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (70 A.D.), and later by the invasions of the Saracens. Following the first Nicene Council in 325 came, instead of the unity it was designed to bring, the great Arian schism which persisted with varying fortunes through succeeding centuries until about the year 660. In 341 Ulfila, a Gothic captive of war, having been converted to Christianity, was consecrated to the episcopate by the Arian Eusebius of Nicomedia, then Bishop of Constantinople. He was commissioned to labour among the Gothic peoples. We know that ere long the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards became Arian. To what extent Ulfila was responsible for this is not definitely known. The Burgundians turned to Orthodox Christianity in 517. The conquests of Justinian ended the Arian kingdoms of the Ostrogoths and Vandals. The Visigothic king, Recared of Spain, renounced Arianism in 587, and the general recognition of supposedly orthodox Christianity took place at the Third Council of Toledo (589). The Lombards were gradually converted to Catholicism from 590–660. This date marks the disappearance of Arianism in the form in which it appeared at Nicæa in 325.

A similar heresy appeared about 1525 in the form of Apollinarianism (founded by Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicæa, in Syria, who died in 390) in the teachings of Johann Denk and Ludwig Hætzer in the sect of the Anabaptists (not all Anabaptists had supposedly non-Orthodox convictions as to the divinity of Jesus); also in the writings and teachings of Servetus, John Calvin's contemporary, who opposed the Nicene and Chalcedonian Christology; in the great anti-Trinitarian movement, beginning in the sixteenth century and known as "Socinianism" (Lelio Sozzini, or Socinus, 1525–1562, and Fausto Sozzini, 1539–1604); and in modern Unitarianism. The Nicene Council of 325, with the Christological definitions of Constantinople and Chalcedon, cannot be said to have preserved unity in the Church. On the contrary, generally speaking, the Church divided into the Trinitarian and Unitarian groups at the first Council of Nicæa.

Although the Second Œcumenical Council at Constantinople in 381 condemned Apollinarianism; Macedonianism (which taught that the Holy Spirit is not consubstantial with the Father and Son); and

Arianism, yet there was no great schism immediately caused by this Council which gave to the world its present-day truly œcumenical creed.

The Council of Ephesus, as already recorded, marks the beginning of the Nestorianism which persists in name to this day. This Church has close and most cordial present relations with the Orthodox Churches of the East. The validity of each other's Orders is mutually recognized, and there is but little hesitancy at intercommunion.[1] While the so-called Monophysite heresies are thought of as being anti-Chalcedonian, Nestorianism to-day is generally rated as Monophysite, that is, as emphasizing one nature in Christ, that nature being preponderantly divine, with human attributes. This is not in accordance with the teachings of Nestorius himself. Our concern here is the fact that another General Council to preserve unity ended in producing a schism that exists to-day.

The Council of Chalcedon, with its important Christological definitions, gave rise to schism resulting in the several Monophysite groups. The Armenian Christians, who had had Gregory the Illuminator as their great missionary in the latter part of the third century, turned, in their hatred of Persia, which was Nestorian, towards Monophysitism in the fourth century. The Council of Etchmiadzin, in 491, condemned the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo. From that day until the present they have been Monophysite. The Egyptian and part of the Assyrian Christians turned against the Chalcedonian definition to Monophysitism. This was the beginning of the Copts of Egypt and Abyssinia, the Jacobites of Syria and Mesopotamia, and the Malabar Monophysite Christians of India. Of course, racial and national loyalties and prejudices played a considerable part at the beginning of these divisions. As time passed, these factors grew in importance, so much so that the Monophysite groups refused to be won back by the later Councils. Then came the Mohammedan subjugation of these groups by the middle of the seventh century. All hopes for the re-union of the Eastern Churches were thereby obliterated for many centuries.

We cannot close our study of the efforts to maintain the unity of the Early Church without referring to a few of the more pronouncedly disturbing factors of these first centuries. The following had their beginnings independently of any General Church Council.

OTHER SCHISMS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

There are those who see in the Judaistic, Pauline, Petrine, and Johannine writings of the New Testament signs of early controversy as to the true interpretation of Christian revelation and its relation to Jewish, Syrian, and Greek thought. All the varied discussions may be said to have hinged around the questions, " What must I do to be saved ? " ; " What think ye of Christ ? " and " Art thou a king then ? "

[1] So stated at the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, Aug., 1927. See *Faith and Order. Proceedings of the World Conference, Lausanne*, 1927. Student Christian Movement Press, London, 1927, pp. 197–199, for a partial statement of the present-day Armenian faith.

Even within the period covered by the New Testament writers, Docetism and Gnosticism began their disastrous work upon the Christianity of Jesus and Paul. Docetism maintained that Jesus had no real humanity, His body being an appearance only. It is of interest to note that amongst the first heresies of Christendom was not the denial of Christ's divinity, but of His humanity. Gnosticism, probably originating in Syria, came to be a conglomeration of Christian ideas fantastically mingled with Babylonian, Syrian, Egyptian, Greek and Roman mythological and religious teachings, and it aided and abetted an allegorical use of the Christian Scriptures. There were a number of Gnostic sects, each with a leader, a system of doctrine, and a more or less distinct body of believers. Perhaps the chief of these sects were the Valentinians, Basilidians, Cerinthians, and Saturninians. The conflict of Christianity and Gnosticism raged for centuries. It was most insidious and persistent in its attacks. It tended to legalism and stressed salvation by knowledge. At this distance in time, we cannot comprehend the very great havoc this heresy wrought, and the very heroic and finally successful effort of the Church to preserve a considerable degree of orthodoxy as to faith and polity.

Associated with Gnosticism, but as a reformer in its midst and in the Church of Rome with which he had associated himself in 139, Marcion arose to cast off the legalism of his day. He rejected the Old Testament and its God, declaring salvation to be by right faith rather than by knowledge. Having been excommunicated in 144, he started a separate Church with a new Canon of Scripture comprised of Paul's writings (except the Pastoral Epistles), and the Gospel of Luke, from which were deleted all the passages in which Christ is reported as saying that He believed the God of the Old Testament to be His Father. So far as we know, that was the first effort to form a Canon of the New Testament Scripture.

Then Montanus of Phrygia arose in 156 to proclaim that the promise of Christ was fulfilled, and the dispensation of the Spirit was at hand. With him were soon associated the prophetesses Prisca and Maximilla. Together they prophesied the end of the world and the early realization of the heavenly Jerusalem in Phrygia. In view of this impending event, abstinence from meat, fastings, and celibacy should be practised. They, with their followers, cried out against worldliness, and protested against episcopal authority. Without any extensive success, they sought to bring back the moral purity, the prophetic gifts, and the eschatological hopes of the apostolic days. The sect continued at Rome and Carthage until after the Empire became Christian, Tertullian (*c.* 207) being one of its most famous later converts.

The Donatist Church of North Africa, which was in existence from 311 until the Mohammedan conquest, furnishes us with the chief instance of a schismatic Church in the centuries when the Church is generally supposed to have been united. This schism is particularly interesting, since by some of the Roman Church the Established Church of England has been called the Donatist Church of modern times. The strict puritanic party of the North African Church took the stand that a presbyter or bishop who had surrendered copies of the Scripture during the persecutions of Diocletian was thereby

unfitted to participate in the ordination of Cæcilian, the new Bishop of Carthage, in 311. An opposing bishop, one Majorinus, was chosen. His successor was Donatus, who assumed the bishopric in 316. The controversy grew apace. In granting aid to the African Church, the Emperor Constantine withheld help from the protesting Church. He called the Council, which met at Arles in 314, and commanded that the Church itself, under his control, should decide its policy. This Council decided against the contentions of the Donatists. Baptism by heretics was recognized, and ordination at the hands of a personally unfit cleric was not thereby vitiated. The Donatists appealed in vain to the Emperor. He gave command for the closing of their churches and for the banishment of their bishops. But this persecution of Christians by Christians only served to root more deeply the puritanic schismatics who insisted that rigid continency and strict morality were necessary virtues for anyone who would, validly, ordain to clerical Orders. The contentions of the Donatists are certainly reflected in those of many of the Anglican Church, as well as in the teachings of all those groups which insist that the holiness of the one Catholic Apostolic Church consists of the personal moral purity of its clergy and laity.

FINAL DIVISION BETWEEN THE EAST AND WEST (1054)

There were many other minor schisms before the time of the final division between the East and the West. It now remains to review the causes which led up to this great division. It was at the Third Council of Toledo, in Spain, in 589, that the Western Church added *filioque* to the Nicæano-Constantinopolitan Creed, thus declaring that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and the Son*. This brief addition has proved to be one of the chief bases of contention between the Churches of the East and of the West. We find the Eastern Church accusing the Western Church of heresy because of its adoption of the *filioque* in the words of Photius (Patriarch of Constantinople, 858–868, 878–886), who, having been repudiated as Patriarch by Pope Nicholas I. (858–867), turned to criticize Nicholas and the Roman Church. Besides his castigations relative to the heresy of adding *filioque*, he condemned them for fasting on Saturdays, for their insistence on priestly celibacy, for their use of butter, milk, and cheese during Lent, and for their limiting the right of confirmation to bishops only. Photius called a Synod, which met at Constantinople in 867, and condemned Pope Nicholas. Thus the attempt of the Roman Church to exercise discipline over the Eastern Church utterly failed.

The final acts which led to the complete separation were as follows : Pope Leo IX., in the early part of the eleventh century, sought to win over to Rome the Churches of Sicily which acknowledged allegiance to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius (1043–1058). In retaliation Cerularius, and Leo, Metropolitan of Bulgaria, closed all Churches of the Latin rite within their areas, and together addressed a letter to Leo IX. in which the charges of Photius were repeated, with an added condemnation of the Roman practice of eating unleavened

bread at the Lord's Supper. The Pope answered by sending an excommunication of Michael Cerularius by the hands of the Papal Chancellor, Frederick of Lorraine, and Cardinal Humbert, who deposited the same on the high altar of St. Sophia. The division between the East and the West was thereby made complete. The succeeding years witness the widening of the breach. National and racial differences have come to have equal importance with differences as to doctrine and polity.

ATTEMPTS TO END THE EASTERN AND WESTERN SCHISM DURING THE EARLY CRUSADES[1]

In a letter to Henry IV., king of the Romans, Pope Gregory VII. announced, in 1074, his intention of placing himself at the head of a large army for the purpose of delivering the East from the Infidels, and of bringing back the Eastern Churches into the unity of the Faith.[2] In 1095 Pope Urban II. called together the faithful, that, beneath the banner of the cross, they might deliver the Holy Places from the Mohammedan Turks. Many nobles and princes with their followers responded to Urban's call. As these armies passed through the domains of the Eastern Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, the latter sought to have the leaders promise to be his loyal subjects, in case they should conquer the parts that were formerly in his Empire. In response they gave certain assurances, but, in the end, Baldwin of Lorraine became the Lord of Edessa; Bohemond kept Antioch; Raymond de St. Giles established himself in Tripoli; and Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen King of Jerusalem. The Crusade, therefore, ended in the Eastern Emperor's domains being filled with Latin principalities. Antioch and Jerusalem, two of the Eastern Patriarchates which had gone with Michael Cerularius away into schism, were from this time on under the direction of the Holy See. A powerful Latin Hierarchy came to be established in Syria. The greatest tolerance was extended by the Western Church toward the Armenians, Nestorians, and Jacobites.[3] Thus we see that what might have furthered friendliness, and probably accomplished union as between the Greek and Latin Churches, resulted in the former being all the more deeply embittered toward the latter.

On April 12th, 1204, the Venetians captured Constantinople. By the exercise of military power they forced the election of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, to the Eastern throne. They next sought to subdue the whole of the Empire. In this they did not succeed, but they did succeed in further instilling in the hearts of the citizens of the Eastern Empire hatred toward everything Roman.[4]

[1] G. W. Kitchin, *Contemp. Rev.* 1867, refers to MSS. in Christ Church, Oxford Library, which tell of a dialogue between the Patriarch, Michael Anchiali, and Lord Manuel Comnenus, Greek leader. The Latins had proposed union, which for political reasons Manuel favoured, but to which the Patriarch objected. This was about the year 1176.

[2] See Louis Bréhier, "Origin of the Misunderstanding between the Roman Church and the East." Art. in *The Constructive Quarterly*, v, 19.

[3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*

The Moslem invasions which led to the Crusades very greatly weakened the Eastern Churches. The Crusades themselves resulted, as we have just seen, in part in the extension of the domains of the Latin princes and of the Latin Church. Swiftly and certainly the Oriental Orthodox were being driven to a point of very great civic and economic distress. In that condition we shall find them treating with the Western Church for a truce and union in the Council of Lyons in 1274, and in the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438, with the Roman Church practically dictating the terms.

THE SECOND COUNCIL OF LYONS, 1274[1]

Students of history will recognize the date 1274 as being in the Crusades period. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that the two leading reasons for the convening of this Council by Pope Gregory X. were: (1) the conquest of the Holy Land; and (2) the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. Almost all early movements toward unity are traceable either to impending civil or economic disaster. Many sections of the domains of the Eastern Church were being overrun, or else held, by the Saracens. This desecration of holy lands and places aroused not only the Eastern portion but the whole of Christendom. In the presence of such a powerful foe it was natural to discuss union. For the Orthodox it was imperative.

Amongst those present at this Second Council of Lyons were James I., King of Aragon; the Ambassadors of the Kings of France and of England; the Ambassadors of the Eastern Emperor, Michael Palæologus, and of the Greek clergy; and the Ambassadors of the Khan of the Tartars. There were in attendance five hundred bishops, seventy abbots, and other religious leaders to a total of more than one thousand. Pope Gregory, assisted by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, presided. The six sessions of May 7th, 18th, June 7th, July 6th, 16th and 17th were all held in the Church of St. John of Lyons.

In preparation for the Council's action relative to re-union, Pope Gregory X. had, in 1273, sent an embassy to the Eastern Emperor, Michael Palæologus, at Constantinople. He had also induced Charles, King of Sicily, and Philip, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, to be less ambitious politically. Amongst the Greek clergy who arrived at Lyons, June 24th, 1274, as representatives of Palæologus, were Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople; Theophanes, Bishop of Nicæa; Georgius Acropolita, Senator and great logothete; Nicholas Panaretus, President of the Wardrobe; Berrhœota, Chief Interpreter; and Georgius Zinuchi.

The letter from the Eastern Emperor, presented by the foregoing clergy, was represented as coming from fifty archbishops and five hundred bishops or synods. On June 29th Mass was celebrated to commemorate the feasts of St. Peter and St. Paul. The Epistle, the

[1] See Art. "Lyons," General Council of 1274, in *Cath. Encyclopædia*, Vol. IX, p. 477. Also P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 205 *ff.*; and Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome 6, Part I, p. 153 *ff.*

Gospel, and the Creed were read or sung in Latin and Greek. The Greeks sang the phrase, *qui a patre filioque procedit*, three times as a sign of acquiescence to Roman domination in things theological. On July 6th, following a sermon by Peter of Tarentaise and the public reading of the Eastern Emperor's letter, Georgius Acropolita and his fellow envoys pledged fealty to the Western Church; forswore twenty-six postulates denied by Rome; and declared that their Emperor would henceforth be a guardian to Christians in the Holy Land. Pope Gregory then intoned the *Te Deum*, and preached on the test, *Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum*. On July 28th, the Pope sent letters of rejoicing to the Eastern Emperor, to his son Andronicus, and to forty-one Metropolitans. As a proof of the Emperor's good faith, there are three letters in existence written to the Pope by himself and his son who in these documents recognized the Papal supremacy.

The unity thus temporarily realized as the result of the Greeks' being in civic and economic distress was bound to be short-lived. Unity can never be permanently realized except it first comes from within.

SCHISM AND RE-UNION WITHIN THE ROMAN CHURCH

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, 1414–1418[1]

After the death of Pope Benedict XI. in 1304, the cardinals chose Bertrand de Gouth, a Frenchman, as his successor. He took the title of Clement V., and was Pope from 1305–1314. With many moral faults and weaknesses in character, he was also under the domination of King Philip IV. of France. It was against Philip IV. in part that Pope Boniface VIII. had in 1296 issued the Bull, *Clericis laicos*, visiting excommunication upon all who demanded or paid taxes on the Church's property without Papal permission. Moreover, it was against Philip IV. in particular that Pope Boniface VIII. directed the very famous Bull, *Unum sanctum*, generally regarded as the climax of all Papal claims of authority over civil powers. Pope Clement V. now not only absolved Philip IV. of all the guilt implied in these Bulls, but in 1309 he removed the seat of the Papacy from Rome to the town of Avignon on the Rhone. Here, within French territory though not in the French Kingdom, the Papacy was destined to remain for sixty-eight years, a period of time so suggestive as to give to this episode the sobriquet of the Babylonish Captivity of the Church. It was Pope Gregory XI. (1370–1378) who, in 1377, moved the seat of the Papacy back to Rome, where he died in 1378. The cardinals, who were in Rome in connection with his funeral, chose the Italian Archbishop of Bari as Pope. He at once sought to rid the Papacy of all French influence. That action estranged the cardinals who explained that their election of the Italian (Urban VI.,

[1] Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome 7, Part I, p. 71 *ff.*; P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. V, Part 2, p. 145 *ff.*; Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 291–310.

1378–1389) was void because it was forced by mob violence. They therefore elected another Pope, Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who took the title of Pope Clement VII. (1378–1393). Within a short time he, with the cardinals, was established at Avignon. Western Christendom then had the scandal of having two Popes elected by the same body of cardinals. This most disgraceful schism was to continue until the Council of Constance elected to the Papacy in 1417 the Roman Cardinal Otto Colonna, who assumed the title of Martin V. (1417–1431). It is not primarily the schism in which we are interested but the manner in which union was finally accomplished by the Council of Constance.

Neither of the two Popes elected by the same group of cardinals in 1378 would give in to the other. At Rome, Urban VI. had successors as follows: Boniface IX. (1389–1404); Innocent VII. (1404–1406); Gregory XII. (1406–1414). At Avignon, Clement VII. was succeeded by Benedict XIII. (1394–1417).

Meanwhile, Bohemia was in a state of very great religious and civil turmoil. The Slavonic and Germanic sections of the population were in a contest for supremacy, with the former aiming at domination, and local autonomy for their country. In the course of time, John Huss (b. 1373), educated at the University of Prague, where he had imbibed the spirit and teachings of Wyclif (1324–1384) through those who had studied under Wyclif at Oxford, became the central figure in Bohemia, since in him were combined both patriotic zeal and desire for religious reform. On May 4th, 1415, the Council of Constance ordered the body of Wyclif to be disinterred and burned, and on July 6th, 1415, that same Council condemned and burned John Huss. It is well to remember that the same Council which accomplished the healing of the schism in the Papacy burned those who, from certain standpoints, were among the most prominent forerunners of the Protestant Revolution. The Council of Constance, which succeeded for a time in making itself the supreme authority in the Church, even to the deposition of Popes, and the setting up of others, was in no mood to allow John Huss, with his watchword of "Administer the cup to the laity," added to demands for certain other reforms, to drive the Church into submission to him and his followers.

But what led to the calling of the Council of Constance? The learned teachers of that day, especially those at Paris, are given much credit for creating a demand that a Council be resorted to in order that the Papal schism might be ended. It was at Paris that Marsilius of Padua, in his *Defensor Pacis*, of 1324, argued in favour of the supremacy of a General Council. It was at Paris that Heinrich of Langenstein in 1381, and Conrad of Gelnhausen in 1379 and 1380, set forth reasons, based mainly upon the disgracefulness of the schism, why a General Council was imperative if the Church were to retain dignity and esteem. In 1408 the cardinals of both Popes met at Leghorn and in their own name called a Council to meet at Pisa in 1409. Acting rather hastily, the assembled clergy at Pisa elected the Archbishop of Milan to the Papacy. He assumed the name of Alexander V. (1409–1410). While the Council of Pisa indicated that

there was a measure of unity within the Church, the actual result was the existence of three Popes, each with his own group of national followers. To Gregory XII. Rome, Naples, and certain other sections gave their allegiance. Scotland, Spain and Portugal chose Benedict XIII. France, England, and the remaining portions of Italy acknowledged Alexander V., the Pope created by the Council of Pisa. The Emperor-elect of the Holy Roman Empire, Sigismund (1410–1437), sided with Pope John XXIII. (1410–1415), the successor of Alexander V. He persuaded Pope John, whom he had befriended in his difficulties with Ladislaus, King of Naples, to join with him in calling a General Council to meet at Constance, November 1st, 1414.

At this great Council of Constance the Western Church was very generally represented. To it came the cardinals, bishops, doctors of theology, representatives of the various imperial courts, Emperor Sigismund, and Pope John XXIII. On April 16th, 1415, it voted that it, as "representing the Catholic Church militant, has power immediately from Christ, and everyone, whatever his position or rank, even if it be the Papal dignity itself, is bound to obey it in all those things which pertain to the faith, to the healing of the schism, and to the general information of the Church of God." On May 29th the Council deposed John XXIII. who had attempted to break up the gathering by taking flight. Gregory XII. resigned on July 4th. While Benedict XII. refused to resign, though importuned to do so by Sigismund who went to Spain to persuade him, he was deprived of the allegiance of Scotland and of the Spanish Kingdoms through Sigismund's efforts. Nevertheless, he died (1423) insisting that he was the only true Pope.

Thus the Council of Constance removed the three rival Popes. In November, 1417, the cardinals, voting as one, and the nations, each with six representatives voting as one, elected Otto Colonna, who as Pope assumed the title of Martin V. This Council also made the Church into a constitutional monarchy, in which the Pope was to be the executive. Before adjourning they made provision for the calling of another General Council in five years. Accordingly, in 1423, Martin V. called a Council to meet at Pavia. A plague that was raging prevented a large attendance. Because of later Hussite troubles, influence was brought to bear upon Pope Martin V. to call another Council. He arranged for one to meet at Basel in 1431, appointing one of his cardinals to conduct it. Upon Pope Martin's death that year, Pope Eugenius IV. carried on with the Council at Basel. In December, Eugenius ordered the Council to adjourn to Bologna in 1433. This the Council refused to do. On the contrary, they reasserted the declarations of the Council of Constance relative to their supremacy, even over Popes. So the Council continued to sit at Basel. Instead of voting as nations, as at Constance, thus defeating reforms through national rivalries, they organized themselves into four large committees on doctrine, public peace, reform, and general questions. A measure for the reconciliation of the Hussites was passed. In 1433, the Pope, finding little encouragement for his aloofness, recognized the Council. Thus the re union of all the factions and parties of the Western Church seemed to have been

accomplished at last, the Church being a constitutional monarchy in its polity.

We now turn our attention to the effort to re-unite the Eastern Orthodox Church, particularly the Patriarchy of Constantinople, with the Western Church at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438.

THE COUNCIL OF FERRARA-FLORENCE, 1438[1]

The Eastern Roman Empire under the Emperor John VIII. (1425–1448), was in desperate and final struggle with the Turkish power. There was every indication that it would either be overthrown or else reduced to a vassal state. In this condition of economic and civil, as well as ecclesiastical, struggle and depression, the Emperor, with Joseph II. (1416–1439), the Patriarch of Constantinople, and with Bessarion (1395–1472), the Archbishop of Nicæa, determined to make approaches to Pope Eugenius IV., with the hope of aid by the union of the Latin and Greek Churches. This was at the time when the Papacy still had its seat at Avignon, France. The Pope's Council wanted the Council for re-union to meet at Avignon, but the Pope, knowing that the Greeks would prefer an Italian city, suggested Ferrara. A minority of the Pope's Council demurred and seceded, but the majority journeyed to Ferrara, whither, in March 1438, went Emperor John VIII., with a large number of Eastern prelates, headed by Joseph II., Patriarch of Constantinople. The Council made little progress at first. For sanitary reasons they transferred to the city of Florence in 1439. After tedious deliberations of many weeks, a union was agreed upon with the following as the general terms of agreement:

(1) The Greeks would recognize the supremacy of the Roman Pope, as being *primus inter pares*, with special emphasis on the primacy. (2) The rights of the Eastern Patriarch would be safeguarded. (3) The Eastern liturgy would be retained, also the right of the clergy to marry. (4) The *Filioque* clause,[2] added to the Nicæano-Constantinopolitan Creed by the Romans, would be recognized by the Greeks, though they would not be required to add it to that Creed.

Of the Eastern prelates present, Marcus Eugenius, the Archbishop of Ephesus, refused to give his sanction to these terms of union. But the Emperor and the majority of the prelates, under the stress of threatened extinction or eclipse by the Turks, agreed to the terms and returned home, the re union having been announced with great rejoicing on July 6th, 1439. Soon thereafter it was announced that the Armenian Church (Autumn of 1439); some parts of the Monophysites (Jacobites, 1442); and Nestorians had also accepted terms of re-union. In connection with the proclamation of re-union with the

[1] See P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. V, Part 2, p. 174 *ff.*, 179 *ff.*; Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, Tome 7, Part II, p. 951 *ff.*

[2] St. Augustine of Hippo in his Trinity xv, 17, says, "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son also." At the Third Council of Toledo (589) the *filioque* clause had been added to the Nicæano-Constantinopolitan Creed. Then in a synod at Aachen (809) Charlemagne approved this addition to the Creed.

Armenians, Pope Eugenius IV. issued a famous Bull, *Laetentur Coeli*, which made clear the meaning of the sacraments.

But, sad to say, the re-unions thus proclaimed were not to be permanent. The Eastern Churches did not approve of their representatives' actions. The Archbishop, Marcus of Ephesus, who had refused to sanction the agreement, was idolized. The wrath against Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicæa, who had accepted a cardinalate from Pope Stephen, was so fierce that he was compelled to flee to Italy. The Greeks found that the compact of union brought them no substantial help from the Latins. The Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, and the re-union efforts of 1438-1439 were a complete failure. The chief reason for this failure was that the union was sought to gain aid in a time of economic and civic crisis, not as a result of any change in mind or heart, either by the Greeks or the Latins.

The rejoicing attendant upon the conclusion of the Ferrara-Florence Council was not confined to Italy and Greece. England heard the news with gladness. The Emperor of the East and the Patriarch of Constantinople were met in Italy by envoys from King Henry VI. They bore letters of hearty welcome and encouragement couched in no formal terms of cold court etiquette.[1] "In this most sacred work," he wrote, "occasion is given to all the faithful everywhere of great joy and exultation. And for ourselves, we consider that we have been most happily and graciously dealt with: greatly felicitating ourselves, and counting it a special gift of God, that these sacred and happy auspices, to result as we trust in a fruitful accomplishment, should have fallen in our age . . . . . " etc.

In a congratulatory letter to the Pope on the supposed attainment of the happy consummation, Henry VI. expressed his fervent joy at the restoration of unity. He ordered "public thanksgiving to be offered up, with processions, litanies, and prayers, in all places subject to his dominion; with all fervour of devotion and rejoicing of the people; and to be thenceforth continued."[2] In the episcopal Registers of England of that time there are directions for giving effect to the King's wishes.

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION[3] (1500–1550)

In any study of the history and problems of Christian unity, the temptation arises to devote much time to a fresh analysis of the great schisms which occurred in what is termed the Reformation period. The history of the Reformation has been recorded by a multitude of authors with various viewpoints. The horrible corruption which came to exist within the Roman Church, once stoutly denied by Roman apologists, is now quite generally conceded by all.[4] The

[1] Bedynton's Letters, Nos. ccxxvi, ccxxvii, Vol. II, pp. 77–80; dated Havering, June 30, 1438; see also George Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century*, 1868, Introduction, iii.

[2] *Ibid*, No. ccxiv, pp. 49, 50; dated Windsor, Oct. 3, 1439.

[3] An excellent one-volume treatment of this period is Seebohm's *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*.

[4] See Articles pertaining to this period in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*.

stubborn refusal of the Church to be reformed by peaceful means is a patent fact. Nothing short of a revolution involving schism could suffice.

We see now that the Protestant Revolution was coincident with the passing of feudalism; with the rise of independent cities and states; and with the supplanting of Scholasticism by the Renaissance, or New Learning. It was at this time that the invention of printing aided in the education of the masses, and vast voyages with important discoveries were opening up extensive "new worlds." Christendom inevitably burst forth from the old shells of the Middle Ages. A Teutonic nationalism, coupled with the progress of the truth, of evangelical fervour, and of Christian morality, could result in nothing short of a breaking up of the lifeless unity of a Church that had been betrayed into the immoral peace of a spiritually dead body. John Huss, Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin, John Knox and, later, John Wesley, were amongst those who were led of God to lead Christendom forth to various divisions, to the very divisions which have been necessary for the apprehension and final realization of the larger and more complete truth.[1] Let us hope that after more than four hundred years of separation these will now be comprehensively brought together into a higher, less mechanical, more spiritual and fruitful unity!

Very soon after the first breaks from Rome, under Luther's leadership, efforts were made to heal the schism. Even at the time of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the various religious settlements, providing for toleration on the basis of the *status quo* of 1618 and 1624, were all made with the clause, "until by God's guidance, Christendom is re-united," added as a recurring refrain. The first post-Reformation re-union effort was the Conference at Marburg.

THE CONFERENCE AT MARBURG, 1529

In relation to the Reformation period, Luther was the Reformer, Melanchthon was the Preceptor, and Bucer was the Peacemaker. When, in the Conference at Marburg, in Germany, an attempt was made, with Bucer as the leader, to reconcile the Lutheran and Zwingli an conceptions of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (the former a literal interpretation of "this is my body," and "this is my blood"; the latter a spiritual interpretation), the attempt failed.[2] Zwingli, with tears in his eyes, offered his hand to Luther, but Luther refused to grasp it.

[1] In the judgment of many, in certain respects, especially in the rejection of many of the refinements and aids in liturgy and worship, and in the rejection of the historic episcopate (freed from Cyprianic and Ignatian ideals), the reformed Churches proceeded too far. The later emphasis on the literal Scriptures, coupled with the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, has proved a fruitful source of Church divisions. The excesses and mistakes of the Roman Church, on the other hand, have been even more harmful to a unified progress of the Body of Christ on earth.

[2] John de Soyres, M.A., *Christian Re-union—The Hulsean Lectures for* 1886, J. & A. McMillan, Toronto, 1888; see also P. Schaff, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 629 *ff.*

ENGLISH NEGOTIATIONS WITH LUTHERAN PRINCES AT SMALCALD, C.A. 1531–1536

Pope Paul III. tried his utmost to induce the Princes of the Augsburg Confession, that is, those Princes of the Empire who were loyal to the Confession as agreed upon at Augsburg on June 25th, 1530, to join in a General Council with a view to re-union. To such a re-union Henry VIII. was opposed. Accordingly, he sent Bishop Fox, of Hereford, Nicholas Heath (later Archbishop of York), and Dr. Barnes (burned as a heretic in 1540), to meet with the Lutheran Princes at Smalcald and induce them to refuse to co-operate with the Pope in a General Council.[1] This action of Henry VIII. "may claim the eminence of having hindered the last chance of the reconciliation of the world."[2] The English representatives made a most unfavourable impression. One of the Lutherans in the Conference wrote: "Nicholas Heath, the Archdeacon, alone excels in Humanity and learning. As for the rest of them, they have no relish for our philosophy and sweetness." They insisted that Henry VIII. must recognize and approve the Augsburg Confession. There were certain articles being drawn up, but Bishop Stephen Gardiner, and others of the English Church, disapproved of them. Finally in 1536 the Conference, having accomplished little, was abandoned.

ENGLISH CHURCH AND LUTHERAN CONFERENCES FOR UNION, 1538–1539

Although the parley at Smalcald had failed in 1536, Henry VIII. was still eager, in the days following his break with Rome, for an alliance with the German Lutheran Princes. Knowing this, the latter sent representatives, with Burckhardt as the leader, to confer with Henry and a committee of three English Bishops, including Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Tunstall of Durham, and four additional doctors of the English clergy. Because the English Churchmen would not surrender their practice of Communion in one kind, their private Masses, and the celibacy of the priests, the negotiations broke down in August, 1538. In 1539, the Lutheran ambassage returned, ready to make great concessions. However, the passage of the Act of Six Articles (31 Henry VIII., c. 14), precluded possibilities of union with the Lutheran Princes. Ollard says that the thirteen Articles, agreed upon in 1538, and discovered among the Cranmer MSS. in the nineteenth century, had considerable influence upon the later XXXIX Articles.[3]

[1] Ollard, Art. on "Re-union," in *Dictionary of English Church History*, Ollard & Crosse, London, 1912.
[2] Dixon, *Hist.*, i, 309: quoted by Ollard, *op. cit.*
[3] Ollard, Art. on "Re-union," *op. cit.*

THE LUTHERAN-ROMAN BREACH WIDENS

CONFERENCE AT RATISBON (1541), AND AFTER. JESUIT HINDRANCES TO CHRISTIAN RE-UNION

When the Roman Catholics and the Protestants met at Ratisbon in 1541, an agreement was reached between Contarini, representing the Holy See, and Melanchthon, representing the Reformers, on such points as original sin, the nature of man, justification and redemption, but Luther refused to give his sanction.[1] At the time of the Peace of Augsburg the separation between the Reformers and the Mother Church was not considered final. While a political separation was thereby established, the hope was expressed that at some future time a General Council would pave the way for re-union. The Tridentine Decrees of 1564, on the part of the Roman Church, and the Formulary of Concord, on the part of the Lutheran groups, brought union on either side, but did very much to widen, if not to fix, the breach between them.

There was a third factor arising which was destined then, and has continued since, to be the chief obstacle to re-union between the Church of Rome and all other Churches, except on Roman terms—namely, the power and influence of the Jesuits. We shall let H. N. Oxenham, who himself spent his life in trying to reconcile the Anglican and Roman Churches and who finally died within the Roman Communion, speak with regard to the part played by the Jesuits in the post-Reformation times. He writes: "Worst of all, the whole weight of the rapidly-growing influence of the Jesuit Order, who became virtually supreme through the command of Catholic education, of Court favour, and of the Confessional, was thrown into the adverse scale. The conciliatory tone of men like Witzel, Erasmus, Cassander, and Staphylus in Germany, and Gentien, Hervet, D'Espenser, and L'Hôpital in France, was rudely superseded by the ruthless and uncompromising partisanship of Jesuit controversialists like Laynez, Salmeron, and Canisius."[2]

Dr. J. J. I. von Döllinger, learned Roman Catholic scholar, theologian and historian, who resisted the dogma of Papal Infallibility as propounded by the Vatican Council in 1870, and who, having been excommunicated, founded (many other German Catholics assisting) the Old Catholic Church, knowing that it was the Jesuits[3] that had

[1] See Ranke's *History of the Popes*, Vol. I, p. 109; also Luther's *Werke* (Walch), XVII, 389–1005; and *Corp.* Ref. IV, 119–676, as cited by de Soyres, *op. cit.* The final rock of failure was the fixed resolve of Luther: "De adiaphoris rebus agi nihil potest, nisi prius vere conveniat de doctrina et de rebus necessariis." (Luth. *Epist. ap. de Werke*, V, 260.)

[2] *An Eirenicon of the Eighteenth Century—Proposal for Catholic Communion.* By a Minister of the Church of England. Edited by H. N. Oxenham, Rivingtons, London, 1879. Introduction, p. 2.

[3] The Jesuit Order was suppressed by Clement XIV. in 1773, and restored by Pius VII. in 1814. See J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Re-union of the Churches*, p. 48, footnote; also his many references to the Jesuits and the hindrances they have placed in the way of re-union.

The author wishes to state here that he yields to no one in his readiness to give

stiffened the Roman Church after the Reformation and had led it into the uncompromising positions behind the Tridentine Decrees of 1564; that it was the Jesuits that had given Pope Pius IX. the courage to promulgate the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1849; and that it was that same Order which was now chiefly responsible for the Dogma of Papal Infallibility, and for the uncompromising attitude of the Church of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals in every effort looking toward *rapprochement* or re-union with other Churches, did not hesitate to attack unsparingly that Order as a menace to the Roman Church and to Christendom in general.[1]

The Jesuits, according to Dr. F. G. Lee,[2] are credited with being the men who forced the English Church into complete schism from the Roman Church and who, in later years, were the chief agents in preventing the re-union of these two Communions.[3] His judgment in this connection is all the more dependable since he spoke as an Anglican who spent his whole life in seeking to heal the wound, who was most sympathetic with everything Roman, and who finally entered the Roman fold. During the reign of Charles I. (1625–1649), secret negotiations were carried on between the English Government, bishops, and the Roman Church. An English Benedictine, named Father Leander, was sent by Pope Urban VII., in 1632, and an Oratorian named Father Panzani, was dispatched in 1634 to England to negotiate for re-union under the direct sanction of Charles I., conveyed to them by the Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windebank. They were commissioned to make reports as to the doctrine and polity of the English Church. Father Leander wrote back that union "seemeth possible enough, if the points were discussed in an assembly of moderate men, without contention or desire of victory, but out of a sincere desire of Christian union."[4] Sir Francis Windebank, speaking to Panzani, said that "if we had neither Jesuits nor Puritans in England, an union might easily be effected." In Panzani's letters to Rome are to be found many complaints as to Jesuit interference. Panzani was assured by Bishop Montague at the time of their first interview that both of the Archbishops, the Bishop of London, and a large group of the other clergy were favourable to union with Rome. They were ready to grant to Rome "a supremacy purely spiritual," for "there was no other method of ending controversies than by having recourse to some centre of ecclesiastical unity." All of this Panzani reported to the Holy Father, who directed him to assure the

to Ignatius Loyola and the Society of Jesus all due honour and praise. Their opposition to Christian Unity on any other basis than Roman is no doubt guided by their idea of the true Church. But their policy and conduct has ever been such that they are on the defensive within the Roman Church. The Art., "Jesuits," in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, illustrates this point.

[1] J. J. I. von Döllinger, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 138–145.

[2] See pp. 198, 203.

[3] *The Union Review*, Vol. I, pp. 3, 4. The editor refers to Joseph Berrington's Introduction to Panzani's Memoirs. See also H. N. Oxenham, *op. cit.*, Introduction p. 12; *Memoirs of Panzani*, translated and edited by Rev. J. Berrington, pp. 135, 163, 244, 245; Ollard & Crosse, *op. cit.*, Art. on "Re-union," by Ollard.

[4] Clarendon's *State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 208. Oxford edition, 1767, as cited by H. N. Oxenham, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 12.

English clergy that the Papal See "would make no unreasonable demands but content itself with the essentials of its primacy, and such privileges as were annexed to it *jure divino*." Not long afterwards Bishop Montague told Panzani that only three bishops, Morton of Durham, Davenant of Salisbury, and Hall of Exeter, were opposed to the scheme.

The Jesuits are generally made responsible for the persecution and death of Cyril Lucar,[1] for the vicious attitude of the Roman Catholics in the Thirty Years' War,[2] for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes,[3] for the Inquisition,[4] and for the slaughter of the French Huguenots. It is the passion of this Society of Jesus to advance the Roman Church as over against all other Churches, seemingly at any cost, without scruple as to the means to the end. These references to the Jesuits are made simply as a matter of historical record of the movements towards Christian unity. No study of the problems connected therewith can possibly be complete which omits a study of the Jesuits in their relation to these problems. Before passing on to other subjects, let us consider one of the principles guiding the action of the Jesuits, namely, the principle of Probabilism.[5]

By Probabilism is meant the doctrine that, in order to be justified in acting on the less safe side in a moral alternative, it is not necessary to be supported by a preponderance of reasons, but sufficient to have *some* reason for doubting the obligation to act on the safer side. This doctrine is held responsible for a great rising tide of laxity. Pope Innocent XI., to stem this tide, condemned a large number of lax principles. He tried to banish Probabilism from the realm of ecclesiastical duty. To aid in doing this, he made Thyrsus Gonzalez, who was opposed to Probabilism, the General of the Order of the Jesuits. Gonzalez found that the suppression of such a pernicious principle was impossible for him. Late in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth, at the time of Spinola, Leibnitz, Bossuet, Innocent XIII., and Benedict XIII. (that is, from about 1670–1735), we find the Jesuits in the background and negotiations on the part of the Roman Church with other Churches for the purpose of re-union in the foreground. The ill-fate of the Roman Church in France during the French Revolution caused the Papal See to revive the Jesuits in 1814, after their having been suppressed since 1773. When, in 1871, Pope Pius IX. proclaimed St. Alfonso Liguori,[6] the great apostle of

[1] See P. Schaff, *History of the Creeds of Christendom*, Vol, I., p. 54 *ff.*

[2] J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Lectures of the Re-union of the Churches*, translated by H. N. Oxenham, 1872, p. 140 *ff.*

[3] *Ibid*, p. 140 *ff.*

[4] *Ibid*, p. 140 *ff.* The Dominicans shared in this.

[5] Archbishop Robertson, *Regnum Dei* (Bampton Lectures), 1901, Methuen, pp. 339–346. See also Dr. J. J. I. von Döllinger, Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten in d. römisch-katholischen Kirche*, i, pp. 101, 116, 5–7. Dr. J. M. Harty, Art., "Probabilism," in *Catholic Encyclopædia*, where Probabilism is defended on the ground that "the Church during many centuries has tolerated" it. The author then states that it has finally been sanctioned by the canonization of St. Alphonsus Liguori, the great teacher of the principle.

[6] Döllinger, Reusch, *op. cit.*, i, 356–476.

Probabilism, a Doctor of the Church, he for ever wrote that pernicious teaching into the official dogmas of the Roman Church.

We are warranted in attributing to the Jesuits the chief responsibility for making the Western Latin Church into the narrowed, circumscribed, non-Œcumenical, and non-Catholic Roman Church, which must to-day be regarded as simply one of the many denominations, in its case being particularly under the domination of an Italian Curia and of the Black Pope. With all this, the Roman Church stands in the world to-day as the world's most unified, most powerful, and most widely extended denomination. There can be no re-union of Christendom which leaves this great Church out of account.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S EFFORTS—JOHN CALVIN

From 1547 to 1553 Archbishop Cranmer tried in many ways to bring about union between the Church of England and the Reformed Churches of the Continent. At various times he invited distinguished foreigners to England to prepare what he was pleased to call "one common harmony of faith and doctrine."[1] The lukewarmness of Melanchthon is said to have been the reason for the failure of these efforts.[2] In 1548 the Interims of Augsburg and Leipsic served to bring a measure of unity amongst various Reform parties, and to guarantee a brief measure of peace. About the year 1550 came what was called the Philippist Movement for the re-union of the Lutherans and the Calvinists, but this met with no particular measure of success.[3] In all of the re-union movements amongst the Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, and followers of Melanchthon, as well as between these and the Roman Church, Bucer very often figured as the would-be pacificator. He has been accused of having been one who stood ready to make any accommodations in order that union might be attained.[4]

Throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603), there was a close fellowship between the English Church and the Swiss Reformers, Calvin, Beza, and Bullinger, resulting in considerable modification in the Anglican theology and in exchanges of many courtesies.

In response to one of the appeals made to John Calvin by Archbishop Cranmer, Calvin wrote: "I wish it could be brought about that men of learning and dignity from the principal Churches might have a meeting; and, after careful discussion of the several points of faith, might hand down to posterity the doctrine of the Scripture settled by their common judgment. But amongst the greatest evils of our age there is also to be reckoned that our Churches are so distracted one from another, that human society scarcely flourishes

[1] In 1552 Cranmer invited Melanchthon, Bullinger, Bucer and Calvin, to such a conference. See P. Schaff, *The Harmony of the Reformed Confessions*, New York, 1877, p. 5.

[2] Ollard & Crosse, *op. cit.*, Art. on "Re-union," by Ollard.

[3] See Karl Hering, *Die Vereinigung Christlicher Kirchen*, 1838. Referred to in an article by Prof. J. P. Lacroix, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. 35, op. 391 *ff.*

[4] de Soyres, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

among us, much less that holy communion between the members of Christ, which all profess in words, and a few sincerely cultivate in faith. Thus it happens[1] that, by the dissipation of its members, the body of the Church lies prostrate and mangled. As to myself, could I be of any service, I should not hesitate, were it necessary, to cross ten seas for such a purpose. If the question were only concerning giving aid to England, that would be with me a sufficiently powerful reason. Now, when the object is to obtain such an agreement of learned men upon strict scriptural principles as may accomplish a union of the Churches in other respects widely asunder, I do not think it lawful for me to decline any labours or troubles."

The death of Edward VI. just at this juncture prevented Archbishop Cranmer from taking action upon Calvin's proposals.

FERDINAND II., CASSANDER, AND RE-UNION

When Ferdinand II. succeeded to the throne in 1556 he found himself emperor of a warring group of Anabaptists, Hussites, Protestants, and Catholics. The Council of Trent was then in the midst of its many varied and prolonged sessions. He urged, without success, the Protestants that they be represented at the Council of Trent. He argued that their theologians would have an equal rank with the bishops, and that if they would only decide to participate they would see to it that the Council met in another place. Ferdinand then made an appeal to Pope Pius IV., asking that he restore the chalice to the laity, and give the priests permission to marry, but the Pope would not agree to the latter. As for giving the cup to the laity, this possible concession was still under consideration at the time of Ferdinand's death.[2]

Ferdinand II. sought the aid of scholars to promote re-union. In 1561 he requested George Cassander, professor of theology at Bruges, then at Ghent, and finally a resident at Cologne, to publish a volume relative to the duty of Christians to seek unity. In response to this request, Cassander published at Basel, in 1561, a volume entitled *On the Duty of a Pious Man in this Dividing of the Church.* He argued that questions of doctrine were to be decided by canonical authority,

[1] "Ita fit, ut membris dissipatis, laceratum jaceat Ecclesiæ corpus. Quantum ad me attinet, si quis mei usus fore videbitur, ne decem quidem maria, si opus sit, ob eam rem trajicere pigeat. Si de juvando tantum Angliæ regno ageretur, jam mihi ea satis legitima ratio foret. Nunc cum quæratur gravis et ad scripturæ normam probe compositus doctorum hominum consensus, quo Ecclesiæ procul alioque dissitæ inter se coalescant, nullis vel laboribus vel molestiis parcere fas mihi esse arbitror." John Calvin's Lat. Opera (Corresp.), Tome IX, p. 61, as cited by Dr. Jules Bonnet, Editor, *Letters of John Calvin,* Vol II, Thos. Constable, Edinburgh, 1857, pp. 332–333. A "Letter from J.C. to Cranmer," dated at Geneva, April, 1552, is here quoted. Bonnet also quotes at length from the *Collection of Zürich Letters,* 1st Series, Vol. i, pp. 21–26, a letter from Thos. Cranmer to John Calvin, in which he hopes for Protestant unity, and says he has written also to Melanchthon and Bullinger. This letter was dated March 20, 1552. See also "Ioan Calvini," *Epistolæ et Responsa, editio tertia.* Hanoviæ 1657, Epist. 126, p. 250.

[2] Spencer Jones, *England and the Holy See,* Chap. VI, p. 406 *ff.*

Catholic tradition, and by the rule of Holy Scripture, the tradition "being universal and consistent," rites and ceremonies might vary. The latter having become corrupt would be cause to set them right, but would be no reason for schism. Both the Roman and Calvinistic theologians opposed Cassander's plan. Then, in 1564, Ferdinand commissioned him to plan a series of *Articles of Comprehension*. This Cassander did. He drew up Fifty Articles, one of which dealt with the question of giving the cup to the laity. The commission having thus been executed, the Emperor summoned certain noted statesmen, theologians, and bishops to assemble at Vienna for conference relative to these Articles. Ferdinand, however, died that year, and his successor, Maximilian II., repeated the invitation for the creation of the proposed Conference, but this entire effort finally came to naught. This was partially due to Cassander's affliction, the gout, which resulted in his death.[1]

THE CONSENSUS OF SENDOMIR, 1570

Protestantism suffered the loss of outstanding leaders in the death of Laski (1560), and Prince Radziwill (1567). It would have been well if the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren could have effected an organic union to make up the loss of personal leadership, but, not being prepared for such an advanced step, they entered into a consideration, April 14th, 1570, at the Synod of Sendomir, a town on the Vistula in Little Poland. This confederation they expressed in the *Consensus Sendomiriensis*. In 1586 this Consensus was published in both Latin and Polish, with the preface signed by John Laurentius, Superintendent of the Bohemian Brethren of Great Poland; by Paul Gilovius, Superintendent of the Reformed Churches in Little Poland; by Erasmus; and by Gliczner, Lutheran Superintendent of Great Poland, in the name of the ministers of the Augsburg Confession. In the Consensus it was indicated that, contrary to Papists and all opponents of the true Gospel, the three Orthodox Evangelical Churches hold a common doctrine of God, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the person of Christ, justification by faith, and other important Articles as set forth in the Augsburg, the Bohemian, and Helvetic Confessions. With regard to sacramentary differences, they agree with Irenæus, and they accept that explanation which differentiates between the earthly form and the heavenly substance in the Lord's Supper, and holds that the visible elements are not merely signs, but that they convey to the believer, through faith, that for which they stand. At this point in the Consensus occurs a lengthy extract on the Sacraments, taken from the Repetition of the Augsburg Confession, or Saxon Confession, which was prepared by Melanchthon for the Council of Trent. Thus the Consensus was based on the later Melanchthonian or Calvinistic theory of the Sacraments, demanding faith as a medium of receiving the grace represented by the elements. Nothing was said about the doctrine of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 406 *ff.*

predestination, seemingly indicating common agreement at this point.

On the whole, the integrity, the orthodoxy, and the Christianity of the three parties concerned was recognized, and they pledged themselves each to avoid strife by the cultivation of charity. To prove the sincerity of their agreement they were to exchange pulpits, send delegates to one another's general synods, and engage in frequent intercommunion. Each of the three was to retain its own peculiarities in discipline and worship. At the conclusion are the signatures of the negotiating noblemen and ministers.

On May 20th, 1570, in a Conference held at Posen, twenty brief supplementary Articles were added for the purpose of strengthening the Consensus. In one of these Articles polemics are forbidden in the pulpit. The Consensus was further confirmed by the General Synods at Cracow, 1573; Petricow, 1578; Vladislav, 1583; and Thorn, 1595. Those of the Lutherans who held to the Formula of Concord (1580), drew out from the Consensus, but, says Philip Schaff, "the spirit of union which produced it passed into the three Brandenburg Confessions of the seventeenth century, and revived in the Evangelical Union of Prussia."[1]

LUTHERAN APPROACHES TO CONSTANTINOPLE

In 1575 certain Protestant theologians of Tübingen, in Germany, made approaches to Jeremiah II., Patriarch of Constantinople, but it was soon found that there was too much of divergence in doctrine and polity for the negotiations to proceed further.

A HARMONY OF THE REFORMED CONFESSIONS, 1581

Meanwhile the Swiss Reformers determined to show their zeal for union in fields of endeavour which gave promise of results. The people of Zürich and Geneva delegated Theodore Beza, Daneau, and M. Salnar (also called Salvart or Salnard), to construct a Harmony of the Reformed Confessions. Some authorities give Beza more credit, others Salnar.[2] This Harmony was first published, in Latin, at Geneva in 1581, under the following title: "Harmonia Confessionum Fidei Orthodoxarum et Reformatarum Ecclesiarum, quæ, in præcipuis quibusque Europæ regnis, nationibus, et provinciis, sacram Evangelii doctrinam pure profitentur, etc. Additæ sunt ad calcem, etc. Quaæ omnia, Ecclesiarum Gallicarum et Belgicarum nomine, subjiciuntur libero et prudenti reliquarum omnium judicio."

An English translation was made, the first edition appearing at Cambridge in 1586, the second, and last, edition in London in 1643.

[1] Schaff, *History of the Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. III, p. 386 *ff.*

[2] *The Harmony of the Protestant Confessions*, revised and enlarged by Rev. Peter Hall, London, 1842. Introduction, XIII–XV.

The publication of the first edition was delayed for a time by Archbishop Whitgift, not out of opposition to its contents but in order to exercise the authority given him by an Order of Council to the effect that no books were to be printed either in the Universities or at London without the sanction of either the Archbishop of Canterbury, or of the Bishop of London.[1] The title of the London English edition gives a fair idea of the contents: "An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, which purely profess the holy doctrine of the Gospel, in all the chief kingdoms, nations, and provinces of Europe, etc. There are added in the end very short Notes, in which both the obscure things are made plain, and those things, which may in show seem to be contrary to each other, are plainly and very modestly reconciled; and if any points do as yet hang in doubt, they are sincerely pointed at. All which things, in the names of the Churches of France and Belgia, are submitted to the free and discreet judgment of all other Churches. Newly translated out of Latin into English, etc. Allowed by public authority."

While these Harmonies indicate a desire on the part of some, at least, for unity amongst the Reformed Churches, the main reason for their publication was to steady the Protestant princes and prelates who were wavering in the face of the taunts of the Roman Church that they were wholly weak and untrustworthy as guides to men's souls because of their hopeless divisions. The publication in England was made with the hope of giving attractiveness to the Reformed Confessions, thereby stemming any Romeward trend of the English Church.[2]

THE WILL OF ARCHBISHOP SANDYS OF YORK

Following the death of Archbishop Sandys of York in 1588, there appeared a book by an unnamed author, entitled *A Proposal for Union Among Protestants*. The book, which was presented to Parliament, represented the Archbishop as a believer in certain of the Puritan principles. On the basis of the clause of Archbishop Sandys' Will relative to re-union between the Anglican Church and the other Protestant Churches, the representation was warranted. The clause read as follows: "That I ever and presently am persuaded, that some of the rites and ceremonies were not so expedient for this Church now, but that in the Church, Reformed, and in all this time of the Gospel, they might better be disused little by little." But while this clause indicated Puritan tendencies, in other parts of this Will the Archbishop refers to reforming attempts, speaking of them as "rude and undigested platforms," tending not to the reformation but to the destruction of the Church of England.[3]

[1] See *Annals of the Reformation*, Oxford, 8vo, Vol. iii, Pt. 1, pp. 650–651; Book ii, Chap. 8, ann. 1586, as cited by Peter Hall, *supra*, Introduction, X–XI.

[2] See Peter Hall, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

[3] See Strype, *Life of John Whitgift*, Vol. I, Book III, Chap. XXI, p. 545 *ff.*

HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE, JAN. 16TH–19TH, 1604[1]

In 1604 one thousand Puritan leaders signed a remonstrance relative to many practices which they considered to be Papal in the polity and in connection with the liturgy and doctrine of the Church of England. This remonstrance was known as the Millenary Petition. They requested that further reformations be carried out by means of a Conference. In particular, they complained about baptism by females; about the cross in baptism; the cap and the surplice; the words *Priest* and *Absolution:* church music; the ring in marriage; lay chancellors; holy days; and the words, "with my body I thee worship," which, they argued, favoured idolatry.[2]

At the Conference itself, which met at the Palace at Hampton Court, the Church of England was represented by Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury; Bancroft, Bishop of London; Matthew of Durham; Bilson of Winchester; Robinson of Carlisle; Dove of Peterborough; Babington of Worcester; Rudd of St. David's; and Wilson of Chichester. In addition to these there were several of the deans: Andrews, Barlow, Bridges, King, Field and Overall. The Presbyterian, or Dissenting, side was represented by four able clergy selected from the two universities: Dr. John Reynolds and Dr. Thomas Spark of Oxford; Mr. Chadderton and Mr. Knewstubbs from Cambridge. These four were joined by Patrick Galloway of Perth, Scotland. The King and his Privy Council were also present. Just previous to the Conference the Reforming clergy held a meeting to decide what changes they would demand.[3] Instead of making out a long list of demands, they agreed to ask: (1) that the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity, according to God's word; (2) that good pastors might be planted in all churches, to preach the same; (3) that the Church government might be sincerely administered according to God's word; (4) that the "Booke of Common Prayer" might be fitted to more "increase of pietie."

This petition was presented on the third day of the Conference, that is, January 18th. On the preceding day certain amendments of the Thirty-nine Articles were asked for. This led Bishop Bancroft to charge that they meant the adoption of Calvinism. Dr. Reynolds, who had acted as spokesman in asking for changes in the Articles, then asked for a modification of the Episcopacy, suggesting that the Bishops and Archdeacons should share their functions with a council of learned ministers. In the course of his argument he made the mistake of mentioning presbyters. King James I., as James VI. of Scotland, had had painful experiences with presbyters, and on

[1] See the *Summe and Substance of the Conference, which it pleased his Excellent Maiestie to have with the Lords, Bishops, and other Clergie, (at which the most of the Lords of the Councell were present), in his Maiesties Privy-Chamber, at Hampton Court, January* 14, 1603." Contracted by William Barlow, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of Chester, London. Printed by John Windet for Mathew Law, 1604.

[2] *The Church History of England from the Year* 1500 *to the Year* 1688. *Chiefly with regard to Catholicks, etc.* 3 vols., Brussels, 1737. Vol. 2, Art. II, p. 326.

[3] *Summe and Substance,* p. 23.

mention of the word declared with vehemence that he would never grant such a change 'til he was "pursy and fat." When the Presbyterian representatives entered the King's presence, or made any petition, they threw themselves into a most abject posture and well nigh grovelled as though in the presence of a god.[1] They especially begged exceptions in the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, and all such other practices as they regarded to be Roman. There was some inclination to make exceptions, but Whitgift and Bancroft argued to the contrary. Near the close of the Conference the King said: "If this is all they have to say, I'll make them conform or I'll harry them out of the land; or else do worse." History bears record that scores of thousands of Puritans in that century left England for other shores, mainly those of the New World.

According to Richard Baxter, the report of what happened at this Conference was made in a biased manner to the general public.[2] The Reforming side was represented as having made ridiculous requests, as having been disrespectful to the King, even demanding Presbyterianism, thus giving sanction to the cry: "No Bishop, no King." The Conference did not meet in vain, however, since it led to the King James' Version of the Scriptures, as appears in item ten of the conclusions reached by this Conference as they were recorded by Bishop Bancroft.[3] For the purpose of our study, the fifteen proposed reforms agreed upon by the Hampton Court Conference need not be fully quoted here. Among other things, they provided for a slight limitation of the jurisdiction of bishops, with either the dean and chapter or some grave minister assisting them in ordination; that churches and schools should be extended to parts of Ireland and Scotland then without them; and, especially, that there should be one uniform translation of the Bible made, and that this should be used in all the churches of England.

THE FIRST EFFORT TO INTRODUCE THE ANGLICAN EPISCOPACY INTO SCOTLAND, OR, THE PRECEDENT OF 1610

The Lambeth Conference of 1908, both in the report of its Committee on union and in its formal Resolutions, declared that, as with regard to union with Presbyterian Churches, "in their opinion it might be possible to make an approach to re-union on the basis of

[1] *Idem*, pp. 96–102.

[2] See *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, faithfully published from his own Original Manuscript by Matthew Sylvester, London, 1696, p. 304 *ff.* See also *A Petition for Peace with the Reformation of the Liturgy As it was Presented to the Right Reverend Bishops by the Divines appointed by His Majesties Commission To Treat with Them about the Alteration of it.* London, 1661. By Richard Baxter, though published anonymously.

[3] *Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the reign of Elizabeth and James I.*, edited by G. W. Pothero. Oxford Press, 1894, pp. 416–417.

the consecrations to the Episcopate on the lines suggested by such precedents as those of A.D. 1610."[1] Let us investigate that precedent.

In the year 1610, King James I., a sovereign who was ever zealous for the defence of what he believed to be the true faith and who was convinced both as with regards to the *bene esse* and the *jus divinum* of the Episcopate and Apostolic Succession, desired to inject both of these into the Scottish Church. He knew that he could not successfully place the Scottish Church in subjection to Canterbury or York. Hence in providing, on October 21st, 1610, for the consecration of the Scottish bishops, John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow, Gavin Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, and Andrew Lamb, Bishop of Brechin, he did not call upon the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, but upon the Bishops of London, Ely and Bath.[2] Bishop Andrewes of Ely raised the question[3] whether or not they should first be ordained presbyters, since up to that time no Bishops had had part in their ordination. Dr. Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was present and maintained that " thereof was no necessity, since, where Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed lawful ; otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any valid vocation in most of the reformed Churches."[4] Then, adds Spottiswoode, " This applauded to by the other bishops, Ely acquiesced, and at the day and in the place appointed the three Scottish bishops were consecrated."[5] Dr. Bancroft also referred to the cases of Ambrose, the first Archbishop of Milan, and Nectarius, the second Patriarch of Constantinople, both of whom had been consecrated *per saltum*, that is, they had not been previously episcopally ordained as either deacons or presbyters.[6] Neal, the historian of the Puritans, represents Dr. Abbott, the Bishop of London, as having answered the question of Dr. Andrewes, the Bishop of Ely,

[1] See p. 326.

[2] For the 1610 incident see *The First Book of the Irenicum of John Forbes*, translated and edited by E. G. Selwyn, 1923, Introduct. Also C. A. Briggs, *Church Unity, Studies in its Important Problems*, Longmans Green, 1910, p. 128 *ff.*; James Cooper, *Re-union—A Voice from Scotland*, London, 1918, p. 19 *ff.* Selwyn names as consecrators the Bishops of Ely, London, Rochester, and Worcester ; Briggs names the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, and Rochester ; Cooper lists them as in the text. T. Hannan in an Art., " The Scottish Consecrations in London," in *The Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXXI, Jan., 1911, p. 387 *ff.*, explains that, the Bishop of Bath and Wells being ill, the Bishops of Rochester and Worcester were added.

[3] Archbishop John Spottiswoode, *The History of the Church of Scotland*, Oliver & Boyd, 1851, iii, p. 209.

[4] *Cf.* the Very Rev. John Lee, D.D., *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, Blackwood & Sons, 1860, Vol. II, p. 187. Here Dr. Lee, a Presbyterian, accepts Heylin's statement that Archbishop Bancroft used the argument that the higher orders included the lower, and that there had been instances where bishops were consecrated *per saltum*. See also, George Cook, D.D., *History of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, Constable & Co., 1815, Vol. II, p. 245, where Cook disagrees with Archbishop Bancroft's claims.

[5] John Spottiswoode, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 209.

[6] Hannan, *op. cit.*, examines the consecration of St. Ambrose, concluding that it was *per saltum* only with reference to election, not with regard to consecration. Hannan also doubts that Cyprian and Nectarius were consecrated *per saltum*.

but Bishop Spottiswoode[1] credits Archbishop Bancroft with having sanctioned consecration *per saltum* on this occasion. Dr. C. A. Briggs declares that the Archbishop's favourable words with regard to that form of consecration expressed the common opinion of that time, as we know from the writings of Hooker, Richard Field, and Mason, all contemporaries of Dr. Bancroft, and also from the writings of Joseph Hall, of a slightly later period.

E. G. Selwyn says that we cannot be sure that these Scottish bishops had been ordained even by presbyters.[2] He declares that extraordinary laxity had prevailed in the sixteenth century with regard to form and matter of ordination. Though the *Second Book of Discipline* (1581) ordered the imposition of hands, it was by no means always observed. Robert Bruce exercised his ministry for eleven years before ordination. As late as 1597 the General Assembly had to reiterate the necessity, in all cases, that there should be ordination by the laying on of hands. Selwyn concludes that it must be held to be doubtful, therefore, whether those who had affected to ordain the three Scottish Bishops previous to their consecration as bishops to the presbyterate, were in any real sense presbyters themselves.

Upon their return home these three Scottish Bishops consecrated other holders of Scottish Sees. Archbishop George Gladstanes was consecrated to St. Andrew's by Spottiswoode, Hamilton and Lamb, in December, 1610. Early in 1611, David Lindsay was consecrated Bishop of Ross; Alexander Douglas, Bishop of Moray; Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles; George Grahame, Bishop of Dunblane; Peter Blackburn, Bishop of Aberdeen; Alexander Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld; Alexander Forbes, Bishop of Caithness; and Neil Campbell, Bishop of Argyll.[3] Dr. James Cooper states that throughout the twenty-eight years that followed in Scotland, ordinations were by bishops except for a few which took place clandestinely. None of the clergy who were already in possession of Scottish cures were reordained. Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen, who was himself ordained in middle life by the Bishop of Moray, permitted his noted son, Dr. John Forbes, to be ordained by a presbyter in Holland, and then summoned him to Scotland to be the Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen University. Dr. John Forbes, generally regarded as the ablest defender of the Episcopacy that ever appeared in Scotland, maintained that even where there was a Bishop, presbyters might ordain.

Scotch Presbyterianism, for the most part, was "High Church," whether it had bishops or not. Dr. William Forbes, the first holder of the See of Edinburgh (1634), represented a theological position quite similar to that in Dr. E. B. Pusey's *Eirenicons*. After Dr. J. J. I. von Döllinger read Dr. William Forbes' *Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ*, he declared that he had never before realized how strong

[1] Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland* (1676, p. 514).

[2] See also Hannan, *op. cit.*, p. 419, where the same conclusions are reached.

[3] Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, Edinburgh, Wodrow Society, 1842. Vol. VII, p. 3. See also *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, John Row, editor, Wodrow Society, 1842, p. 293.

the case was for Catholicism, which was not Papal. The Scottish Episcopate, so long as it was maintained, was presbyterial, but it was not destined to continue long in Scottish Church polity. The Episcopacy in Scotland came to grief because of the intolerable and high-handed action of Charles I. in foisting on the Scottish Kirk the so-called "Laudian" Prayer Book, in the composition of which the King had intruded his own hand.[1]

To enforce what he believed to be the pure and necessary elements of genuine Catholicism, James I. (VI. of Scotland) held a General Assembly at Perth in 1618. At his command this Assembly passed Five Articles which prescribed the following practices: (1) Kneeling at the reception of the Eucharist; (2) Private Communion in case of need; (3) Private Baptism in similar circumstances; (4) Confirmation, or "Bishoping"; (5) The observance of the chief Holy Days, namely, Christmas, Good Friday, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. It is needless to state that, irrespective of the merits of these practices, the autocratic enforcement of the same upon the Scottish Church brought the day nearer when that Church would throw off Episcopacy and return to pure Presbyterianism. That day finally arrived in 1638, when Presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland and the Episcopalian leaders were driven from the country. Episcopacy was restored, however, in 1661,[2] causing the extreme Presbyterians to separate from the Church. In 1690 Presbyterianism was again re-established, an event which was followed by the deprivation of the Scottish Non-Jurors.

Dr. James Cooper[3] praises very highly the twenty-eight years of Scottish Church history under Bishops, that is, from 1610 to 1638. Amongst many other benefits, Scotland came to have a more generous theology; learning and arts were encouraged; a large number of able and moderate men were brought to the front; many of the churches were repaired, and some of them made into Cathedrals. Speaking in St. Faith's Chapel in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, April 19th, 1918, with the Lord Bishop of London presiding, Dr. Cooper said: "I take it for granted that we shall accept the fact of Episcopacy, and effectually preserve the continuity of the 'Historical Episcopate'; but it will be in conjunction with our whole system of Church courts, from the Kirk Session to the General Assembly. It will be a constitutional and paternal episcopacy."[4]

ANGLICAN DIVINES AT THE SYNOD OF DORT, 1618

Mostly as a matter of national policy, James I. of England was personally represented at the Protestant Synod of Dort, Holland, in 1618. The delegates he sent are characterized, by those who would deny that the Church of England ever thought of itself as being

[1] See *The First Book of the Irenicum of John Forbes, op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 7–18.

[2] See p. 67 *ff.*

[3] James Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 10 *ff.*

[4] James Cooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–84.

Protestant, as representatives of the King rather than of the Anglican Church. Those representatives were Bishop Carleton of Llandaff; Dr. Hall, who was later made Bishop of Norwich; Dr. John Davenant, later Bishop of Salisbury; and Dr. Samuel Ward. While they entered fully into the fellowship of the Synod, they raised certain objections against Article 31 of the Belgic Confession, which denied episcopal government. Bishop Carleton delivered an address in favour of the apostolic succession of bishops.[1]

CYRIL LUCAR, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE (1621)

CARRIES ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL REFORMED CHURCHES

The lone spectacle of an œcumenical Patriarch, in the person of Cyril Lucar,[2] carrying on negotiations with the Anglican Church and with the Reformed Churches of the Continent, cannot be explained unless there is a knowledge of his early life and education. Cyril Lucar was a native of Crete, and was, therefore, a Venetian subject. After beginning his education at Padua and Venice, he went to Geneva. Here he undoubtedly met Beza, who taught in Calvin's chair as late as 1598, and who afterwards lived in retirement in that city. Cyril also paid brief visits to various Lutheran Universities. He lived for a considerable time in England, during which time he had many conversations with Archbishop Abbott. In the course of time he became Patriarch of Alexandria, and in 1621 Patriarch of Constantinople. While in this latter position of power in the Eastern Church, he carried on an extended correspondence, actually begun in 1612, with representatives of the English Established Church and with the Reformed Churches of the Continent. Immediately the Jesuits by indirect means began every sort of persecution, but support rallied to Cyril from Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, and from James I. of England, through their respective ambassadors. The long-established Company of Geneva acceded to a basis of re-union, which admitted the appeal to tradition and left the matter of ritual open. The Dutch theologians showed their hearty co-operation by sending one of their own number to confer with Cyril. All the while the Jesuits were raising every sort of obstacle. Then the Patriarch of Alexandria, Gerasimus, refused to co-operate, and the other Patriarchs were either evasive or silent. At this point (1629), Cyril Lucar published his *Confession of the Oriental Church.*[3] In this he attempted a scheme of comprehension, by which the doctrine of justification by faith and the appeal to the Scriptures were united with the Eastern Orthodox loyalty to the dogmas of the Œcumenical Councils. This *Confession* raised a storm of persecution from the Roman and Eastern

[1] Ollard & Crosse, *op. cit.*

[2] Philip Schaff, *History of the Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. I, p. 54 *ff.*

[3] See Philip Schaff, *The History of the Creeds*, Vol. I, p. 54 *ff.* London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1878.

Catholics, but an immense amount of approval from the Reformed and Anglican Churches. Cyril was deposed and four times exiled, and as many times he returned as Patriarch. Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador, and his Chaplain, and also the Dutch Ambassador, Haga, gave him all possible friendship and personal protection. Out of appreciation of the English friendship, Cyril presented to Charles I. the famous *Codex Alexandrinus*, which now safely reposes in the British Museum. At last, after a fifth exile, his persecutors closed around him. By bringing a false charge to the absent Sultan, and by the signature of the Patriarch Metrophanes of Alexandria, whom he had especially befriended, his execution was brought about. Thus the heroic attempts of a very great cosmopolitan to re-unite a large portion of Christendom were rewarded, chiefly because of the Jesuits, with a cruel and brutal death.

EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HARMONIES OF CONFESSIONS

In the same year that Cyril Lucar began negotiations with the Reformed Theologians, there appeared another Harmony of Confessions under the title of *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei, quæ, in diversis Regnis et Nationibus, Ecclesiarum nomine fuerunt authentice editæ, in celeberrimis conventibus exhibitæ, publicaque Auctoritate comprobatæ*. (Aurel. Allbr. 1612, 4 to.) A new edition of this Harmony was published in 1654 with the following valuable additions: the Confession of Helvetia from the Zürich edition of 1651; the Confession of Belgia, as it was revised, corrected and approved by the Synod of Dort in 1619; the Confession of Basle; the Judgment of the Synod of Dort; the Confession of Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople; and the General Confessions of the Reformed Churches in Polonia, Lithuania, and the Provinces annexed according to the assembly of Thorn.[2]

The inclusion of Cyril Lucar's Confession would seem to give the motive or occasion for the publication of these Harmonies, namely, a definite effort to show the essential unity of the Reformed Creeds, and an attempt to recognize and generously answer the magnanimous and so poorly rewarded approaches of that Patriarch toward the non-Roman Churches outside his own Orthodox Church.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), into which all the various wars of Europe came finally to be fused, was now in progress. While many subordinate causes entered in, it was essentially a war forced on by the intolerance of the Roman Church and its princes towards

[1] John de Soyres, *Christian Re-union; the Hulsean Lectures for* 1886, J. & A. McMillan, St. John, N.B., 1888, p. 9 *ff.*

[2] Peter Hall, *op. cit.*, Introduction, XVII, *ff.*

the existence of the Churches of the Reformation, especially towards the Calvinists, or Reformed Churches. By the Treaty of Passau (1552), and by the religious peace of Augsburg (1555), a measure of toleration had been secured for the Lutheran Churches. The Reformed, or Calvinist, Church, had no legal rights. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden was the great champion of Protestantism in this struggle. The war was finally ended by the Treaty of Westphalia, the terms of which will be considered in the next Chapter.

PERIOD II

EARLY MODERN NEGOTIATIONS FOR CHRISTIAN UNION MADE EITHER BY INDIVIDUAL LEADERS, OR FOR POLITICAL REASONS.

1648–c.a. 1714

" And the glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them : that they may be one, even as we are one : I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one ; that the world may know that thou didst send me, and lovedst them, even as thou lovedst me."

—S. John xvii, 22–23.

" That there should be no schism in the body ; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it ; or one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and severally members thereof."

—I Corinthians xii, 25–27.

" More especially we pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church ; that it may be so guided and governed by the Good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the truth in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life."

—The Book of Common Prayer.

" Beseeching Thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity and concord."

—The Book of Common Prayer.

CHAPTER II

Individual and Political Efforts to Regain Unity in Church and State or to Realize Religious Peace

from the peace of westphalia, 1648, to the peace of utrecht, 1714

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (1641-1648)

In Münster and Osnabrück, two towns of Westphalia, the treaty was concluded which finally brought to an end the Thirty Years' War. All the Powers of Europe except England, the Porte, Poland, and the Grand Duke of Muscovy were represented in the negotiations. The chief figures in the conference which ultimately succeeded in concluding the treaty of peace were Ferdinand III., Emperor of the Austrian remnant of the Holy Roman Empire as represented by his chief plenipotentiary, Count Maximilian von Trautmansdorff; a representative from King Louis XIII. of France; representatives of the Spiritual and Temporal German Electors of Christian IV. of Denmark; Oxenstierna, the successor of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden; two representatives from the King of Spain; and Fabio Chigi (later Pope Alexander VIII.), as the representative of Pope Urban VIII. (d. 1644) and his successor, Innocent X.[1]

For the purposes of our study, we need only to examine the religious settlements made in connection with this peace pact. The Treaty of Passau (1552), and the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) were formally acknowledged as the fundamental laws of the Empire, but were broadened in their application so that the "adherents of the Augsburg Confession" should thereafter be regarded as including those who held to the "Reformed" or Calvinist faith.[2] By the Treaty of Passau and the Peace of Augsburg Lutheranism was given full legal recognition on the basis that all properties in the possession of Lutherans in 1552 should remain Lutheran, while all Catholic rulers turning Lutheran after that date forfeited their position and holdings. By the Treaty of Westphalia the year 1618 was chosen as the norm year for Würtemberg, Baden, and the Palatinate: all lands to be restored to those who possessed them in that year, or to their successors. For the remainder of the Empire, possession was to be determined on the basis of those who held occupation on January 1, 1624. As with the Peace of Augsburg, so now with Westphalia, it was agreed that if any Catholic prince should turn Protestant he would thereby forfeit his position and possessions. This proviso acted

[1] See *The Cambridge Modern History*, 1906, Vol. IV, p. 866 *ff.*, for an excellent bibliography on the Peace of Westphalia. See also, James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, Chap. XIX.

[2] *The Cambridge Modern History*, p. 410 *ff.*

as a check in the way of a further spread of the Reformation. Each lay prince was given the right to determine which of the three faiths would be professed in his territory, only one faith being allowed within such a domain. As for the residents, should they not desire to submit to the choice of the prince, provision was made for their emigration. No religious order founded since the Reformation was to be admitted into a convent previously held by another, a stipulation directed against the Jesuits (founded 1540).

All the negotiations leading directly to the religious settlement took place at Osnabrück. The hope that the religious disunions would be ultimately brought to an end was constantly expressed in connection with the various settlements. Those noted representatives of Christendom seemingly had no other idea but that the religious divisions inaugurated at the time of the Reformation would be of comparatively short duration. At least that was their sincere desire. The great advance represented in the Treaty of Westphalia is to be found in the official establishment of the principle of toleration to the Lutheran and Reformed faiths alike. The results of the Reformation were thereby sanctioned and established by international law. Henceforth the evangelical groups, from the legal standpoint, will treat with the Catholic groups as equals. The great service of Gustavus Adolphus (d. 1632), in securing such recognition for Protestantism, is very gratefully remembered, especially in Sweden, even until the present time.

THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING WESTPHALIA

The Thirty Years' War left Europe weary and exhausted, especially in the German States. The Calvinists and Lutherans having won legal existence, and the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia having been so stated that there was a satisfactory division between those who chose either the Catholic or the Evangelical types of Christianity, there was quite a universal disposition to accept the religious settlement, although the Papal See denounced its terms in 1651. The physical and economic weakness brought on by the prolonged conflict was such that no one cared to disturb further the well-earned peace. We see now an effort on the part of each nation to recoup itself materially. Rulers will not be found who were interested in Christian re-union until the time of Spinola and Leibnitz, towards the close of the century. The chief activities for the healing of the religious divisions were carried on by individuals like Richard Baxter, John Dury, George Calixtus, Rojas Spinola, Gerhard Molanus, and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz. Let us first consider the work of Richard Baxter.

RICHARD BAXTER (1610-1691)

In Richard Baxter we have a theologian, mystic, and practical man of affairs who, though he had no place in his sympathies for the Quakers and the Papists, probably came nearer to advocating the fundamental requirements at the basis of permanent and worth-while

PLATE II.

face p. 50

approaches to re-union than any other man of modern times. To appreciate fully Baxter's position, it is necessary to read his *Catholic Unity; or the Only Way to Bring us all to be of One Religion*, London, 1660; *The Cure of Church Divisions*, 3rd Ed., London, 1670; *Church Concord*, written 1667, published 1691; and *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, January 1649-1650. These books, especially the first two mentioned, should be republished and widely read. Because of their non-availability, some of their most suggestive and challenging statements are included here.

"The true unity of the Catholic Church," writes Baxter, "consisteth in this, that they have all one Sanctifying spirit within them."[1] "It is the Spirit of Holiness that is the uniting principle."[2] "There can be no true Christian Unity but in Christ the Redeemer and Head of the Church."[3] "The true members of the Church are built on the foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets."[4] "There is no true Christian Unity, but with the Holy Catholic Church. The body is but one. 1 Cor. 12: 12-13, Eph. 4: 4. But the unsanctified are not of the Holy Catholic Church, but only in the visible external communion."[5] "Let us first agree in all those points that Papists and Protestants, Calvinists and Lutherans, Armenians and Anabaptists, and Separatists, and all parties that deserve to be Christians are agreed in."[6]

In the dedication to his *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, Baxter writes: "As to the Difference in way of Government between the Moderate Presbyterians, Independents, Episcopal and Erastian, I make no doubt that if men's spirits stood not at a greater distance than their Principles they would quickly be united. But of all the four sorts there are some that run so high in their Principles that they run out of Peace and Truth. Will God never put it into the hearts of Rulers to call together some of the most Godly, Learned, Moderate, and Peaceable of all four opinions (not too many), to agree upon a way of union and accommodation, and not to cease until they have brought it to this Issue—to come as near together as they can possibly in their Principles; and where they cannot, yet to unite as far as may be in their Practices, though on different Principles; and, where that cannot be, yet to agree on the most lovable peaceable course in the way of carrying on our different Practices; that so (as Rup. Meldenius saith), we may have Unity in things necessary, Liberty in things unnecessary, and Charity in all? The Lord persuade those who have the power to this Pacificatory enterprise without Delay."[7]

In one place he sets down what he considers to be the points of common agreement, which may be summarized as follows: We are all agreed as to: (1) Only one God; (2) That God is our only happiness; (3) That sin hath made us miserable; (4) That the Holy Ghost is the Sanctifier of God's elect; (5) That the Holy Scripture is the Word of God; (6) That there is a Heaven for the sanctified;

[1] Richard Baxter, *Catholic Unity*, p. 14.
[2] *Idem*, p. 19. [3] *Idem*, p. 21. [4] *Idem*, p. 31.
[5] *Idem*, p. 31. [6] *Idem*, p. 94.
[7] See F. J. Powicke, "Richard Baxter," art. in *Constructive Quarterly*, VII, 26th June, 1919.

(7) That there is a Hell ; (8) That the flesh is our enemy and must be mortified ; (9) That sin is the most hateful thing ; (10) That one thing is needful, we must seek first the Kingdom of God.[1]

In *The Cure of Church Divisions*, Baxter dispels any impression that, when he thinks of Church unity, he has merely the invisible Church in mind. He boldly grapples with the problems of Episcopal and non-Episcopal ordination, and with that of the validity of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper when administered by pastors who were never Episcopally ordained. In reading what he has to say, it is well to remember that he was at heart an Anglican,[2] for though his soul burned with a passionate zeal for re-union with all outside his Church, he wrote, " If we ever agree and unite, it must be on terms that are possible . . . . But it is impossible for us to come to you and to unite with you."[3] Careful reading of the context indicates that Baxter's reason for this impossibility was simply that he honestly held those outside his fold to lack the " Spirit of Holiness," or the " Uniting Principle." There is not the least implication of the non-validity of Orders, or irregularity of the same. Now what does Baxter say relative to non-Episcopally ordained clergy and their ministries?

He brands as a " Superstition " the belief " that all the Pastors of the Protestant Churches abroad, who had only the election of the people and the Ordination of Parochial Pastors, and not of Diocesan Bishops, are not true Ministers of Christ, but Lay-men . . . . That therefore their baptism is unlawful, and a nullity, and all those nations are not baptized Christians. (Though the Papists who hold the validity of Lay-men's baptizing do here censure more easily.) "[4] " That it is not lawful to communicate in such Churches, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper from such Ministers . . . . That those Countries which are baptized by such should be re-baptized . . . . That those ministers who are ordained by such should be re-ordained."[5] Each of the foregoing declarations, be it remembered, Baxter declared to be a " Superstition."

In 1680 Baxter published a book[6] addressed to Dr. George Morley, Lord Bishop of Worcester, and to Dr. Peter Gunning, Lord Bishop of Ely. In the Introduction Baxter gives us one of his reasons for his interest in Church unity, for he recalls that it had been about eighteen years since they, with him and others, had been commissioned by His Majesty to reform the Church discipline and worship, and " to consider what Alterations of the Liturgy were necessary and

[1] Baxter, *op. cit.*, p. 140 *ff.*

[2] The Act of Uniformity of 1662 caused Baxter's ejection from the Church of England, though he still remained loyal at heart even while protesting against Erastianism, or governmental interference. In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Baxter is characterized as a Presbyterian divine. This he became by force of circumstances, and finally remained so by conviction.

[3] Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–105.

[4] Richard Baxter, *The Cure of Church Divisions, op. cit.*, Part I, Direction LVII, and LVIII, p. 278 *ff.*

[5] *Idem*, Parts I and II.

[6] Richard Baxter, *The True and Only Way of Concord of All the Christian Churches*, London, 1680.

expedient for the satisfaction of tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and Unity to the Churches under his Majesty's protection and government." Baxter states that these two bishops, together with Dr. Sparrow, then Bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Pierson, then Bishop of Chester, had maintained that no alterations were necessary. He continues by writing that they did not treat for either Presbyterian or Independent government, but for nothing "worse than Archbishop Ussher's form of the Primitive Government (which I had declared my judgment of before in print)."

In "A Premonition," at the beginning of the book, Baxter makes it plain that while he writes that Diocesan Prelacy, Archbishops, and Patriarchs are not to be made necessary to universal or subordinate Church Concord, he does not speak against the lawfulness of all Episcopacy. He then makes reference to Ignatius and to what he had to say with regard to Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. He states that he will not meddle with the question whether these should have Archbishops over them, or whether Patriarchs, Diocesans, and Lay Chancellors should be had as officers of Kings. Then follows a remarkable statement as to his theory of the origin of the Church of England. He writes:

"I am fully satisfied that the present Church of England, as National, deriveth its succession from the ancient British and Scottish Church and not from Rome; and that Christianity was the Religion of England long before Gregory, or Augustine the Monk's day . . . . And as the blood of this nation, though called English, will upon just consideration be found to be twenty, if not a hundred fold, more British than either Roman, Saxon, or Norman, so the ordination of the Bishops is derived so much more from the Britains and Scots than from Rome, as that Augustine the Monk's successors were afterward almost extinct, only one Wini, a Simonist, being left in *anno* 668, the rest of the Bishops being all of British ordination. All which with much more of great importance is so fully proved (after Ussher) by M. T. Jones of Osweltree, late Chaplain to the Duke of York, in an excellent Historical Treatise hereof, called 'Of the Heart and its right Sovereign,' that I am sorry that book is no more commonly bought and read."

It is interesting to know that at this present time there is a considerable group within the Church of England who have convictions similar to Baxter's relative to the origin of their Church, and who sincerely desire the restoration of distinctly English Catholicism.

That Baxter had made a special study of the history of Christian Unity as well as of its problems is evidenced by the fact that he gives a list[1] of those "in all Ages, whom God stirreth up to a special zeal for Christian Concord." He names Erasmus, Cassander, Wicelius, Melanchthon, Musculus, Bucholzer, Junius, J. G. Vossius, Camero, Ludovicus Capellus, Placaeus, Testardua Amyraldus, Blondell, Dallaeus, the Breme and British Danes at Dort (by their means the

[1] Baxter, *The True and Only Way of Concord of All the Christian Churches*, Part III, p. 20 *ff*.

Decrees of the Synod are Pacificatory) ; Calixtus and his associates ; Johann Bergius, Conrad Bergius, Ludov. Crocius, Iselburge, Archbishop Ussher, Bishop Hall, Bishop Davenant, Dr. Ward, Dr. Preston, Mr. Whately, Mr. Fenner, Chillingworth, and many more : but before all he places John Dury and Mr. Le Blanke.

Baxter gives us a most interesting definition of schism and the causes for the same. According to him, " Schism is an unlawful separating from one, or many Churches, or making Parties and Divisions in them, and is caused usually either :

" 1. By unskilful, proud Church-Tyrants, Dogmatists, or Superstitious Persons, by departing from Christ's instituted terms of Concord, the Christian Purity and Simplicity, and denying Communion to those that unite not on their sinful or unnecessary self-devised terms, and obey not their ensnaring Canons or Wills ; or malignantly forbidding what Christ hath commanded, and excommunicating and persecuting men for obeying him.

" 2. Or else by erroneous proud self-conceited persons, that will not unite and live in Communion upon Christ's instituted terms, but feigning some Doctrine or Practice of their own devising to be true, good, and necessary, which is not ; or something to be intolerably sinful that is good and lawful, do therefore cast off their Guides, and the Communion of the Church as unlawful, on pretence of choosing a better necessary way."[1]

To prevent schisms Baxter recommended, *In necessariis unitas, in non-necessariis libertas, in utrisque caritas*. In addition : He also held that unity is promoted : " (1) By the *Light* of Reason and Sacred Truth adapted to the Understandings of the people and seasonably proposed with good advantage to convince them. (2) By the *Love* of Pastors, Rulers and Dissenters, heaping coals of Fire on their heads. (3) By the *Power* of Magistrates, encouraging men of Truth, Piety and peace, and restraining men from propagating intolerable errors and all sorts from violating the Laws of Humanity, Christian Sobriety, and Charity, and the publick peace."[2]

Baxter held that " the Papacie " will never unite the Church.[3] He believed that the Universal Church would never unite under Patriarchs, or any other " human form " of Church Government. He declared that no form is *jure divino*, and that Dr. Edward Reynolds, the late Bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Stillingfleet held a similar opinion.[4] He was also convinced that the Universal Church would never unite in General Councils as their head, or as necessary to union.[5]

He then continues to enumerate the various supposed means towards Christian Unity which, in his judgment, are inevitably doomed to failure. All of these convictions of his are so pertinent to present day re-union problems that it is well for them to be reviewed

[1] Baxter, *op. cit.*, Chap. XVII, p. 139.
[2] Baxter, *idem*, Part III, p. 25.
[3] *Idem*, Chap. IV, p. 29.
[4] *Idem*, Chap. V, p. 41 *ff.*
[5] *Idem*, Chap. VI, p. 52 *ff.* See also p. 16 *ff.* in text for Baxter's specific opinions relative to the merits of General Councils for the attainment or maintenance of Christian unity.

here. He writes: "The Universal Church will never unite in many pretended Articles of Faith, not proved to be Divine: nor in owning unnecessary doubtful Opinions or Practices as Religions, or Worship of God; notwithstanding the pretence of Tradition."[1] . . . "The Universal Church will never unite, by receiving all that is now received by Greeks, Latines, Armenians, Abassines, Lutherans, Calvinists, Diocesans, Presbyterians, Independents, Erastians, Anabaptists, or in full Conformity to any of the present Parties, which addeth to the Primitive Simplicity in her terms of Communion or Concord."[2] . . . . . "The pretended Necessity of an uninterrupted Canonical or Episcopal Ordination will never unite the Church, but is Schismatical."[3] In proof of this latter point, Baxter indicates that he, though he had been ordained by a Bishop, was ejected, with two thousand other Nonconformists, from the Church of England on August 24, 1662.

Continuing his enumeration of the things which will divide, Baxter declares that "the Severity and Force of Magistrates" will never procure unity.[4] "Any one uncertain doctrine, oath, covenant, profession, subscription, imposed will divide."[5] "Unlimited toleration will divide."[6] "The Catholick Church will never unite in a reception and Subscription to every Word, Verse, or Book of the Holy Scripture, as it now is in any one Translation, or in any one Copy of the Original now known."[7] "The Catholick Church will never unite in subscribing to any men's whole Commentaries on the Bible."[8]

In Part I of this very remarkable treatise of the whole problem of Christian re-union, Baxter speaks of that factor which to-day, more than any other, is demanding the re-union of Christendom, namely the missionary factor. It should be remembered in this connection that modern missions were merely in their earliest beginnings in his day. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that Baxter was able to see in the desire for the Christian missionary enterprise that which he believed to be one of the chief forces which would lead to re-union. In dealing with the factors which are furthering the spirit and bond of unity, he writes that amongst the more important is "an earnest desire of the world's Conversion, and of bringing in the barbarous, ignorant, infidels, and impious, to the knowledge of Christ, and a holy life, doth show a large degree of charity, and of the Unity of the Spirit, which would fain bring in all men to the bond of the same Unity and participation of the same spirit." To this Baxter adds as a note, "Such as now worketh in Mr. Eliot's in New England, and Mr. Thomas Gouge in England towards the Welsh, and in many worthy Ministers who suffer the reproach and persecutions of men because they will not consent to be as lights put under a bushel."[9]

[1] Baxter, *op. cit.*, Chap. VII, Part III, p. 60 *ff.*
[2] *Idem*, Chap. VIII, Part III, p. 68 *ff.*
[3] *Idem*, Chap. IX.
[4] *Idem*, Chap. XI, p. 107 *ff.*
[5] *Idem*, Chap. XIII.
[6] *Idem*, Chap. XIV.
[7] *Idem*, Chap. XV, p. 134 *ff.*
[8] *Idem*, Chap. X, p. 137 *ff.*
[9] *Idem*, Part I, pp. 28–29.

All of Baxter's activities and writings relative to Christian concord had their roots in the moral purity and in the spiritual holiness of his own private life. It is this that makes his contribution to the problem to be profound and unique. Many, if not most, of the movements we have reviewed to date were fostered for the sake of either national or ecclesiastical integrity, in the face of a threatened division weakening, or overthrowing, the Church or State concerned. In Baxter's efforts, we see unity being sought after for the sake of the genuine inward redemption of individual men and society, coupled with the corollary that unity cannot come unless such a spiritual sanctification has taken place.

Baxter's contribution to Christian Unity in his day was not wholly in the way of exhortation and theoretical disputation. In the Spring of 1652, at a Ministers' Meeting in his own home, he made a proposal for union which in its essence was a voluntary scheme for discipline amongst the ministers of various faiths. The ministers present were favourably impressed. At a larger Ministers' Meeting held at Worcester he laid his entire "Design" before those present. His plan included "so much of the Church Order and Discipline as the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent are agreed in as belonging to the Pastors of each particular Church."[1] After several meetings with these and other ministers, all of Worcestershire, a certain Agreement, or Concord,[2] was entered into, eleven significant statements being made. The first and second define Church members as those who of their own consent make a creditable profession of faith and repentance, and give themselves up to God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. There is no reference to Confirmation or to any necessity of Episcopal government. The third states that it is lawful for one Church to consist of no more than could meet in one place. The fourth was to the effect that it was lawful for neighbouring pastors to help at the ordination of Presbyters, but that "they are truly Presbyters if they be ordained by the Presbyters of a particular Church (and in cases of necessity if unordained) . . . And if any congregation through Error have no true Officers (in the judgment of the Synod) for want of true Ordination, yet let us hold such Communion with that Congregation (if other things correspond) as is due to a Neighbour Community of Christians, though not such as is due to a Political Society."[3]

Items five, six, seven, eight and ten deal with pastoral oversight and guarantee autonomy of the local, particular church in matters of worship and government purely within that church. Item nine is of the greatest importance. It reads: "We are agreed that all Parishes that have in them a people professing Christianity, and content to live as particular Churches in communion for God's worship, are *true Churches*, as that word doth signify a *Community* of

[1] Richard Baxter, *Christian Concord, or the Agreement of the Associated Pastors and Churches of Worcestershire: with Richard Baxter's Explication and Defence of it and his Exhortation to Unity*, 1653, Entire.

[2] F. J. Powicke, Ph.D., *A Life of the Rev. Richard Baxter*, 1615–1691, Jonathan Cape, Ltd., London, 1924, p. 165.

[3] Baxter, *Christian Concord*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 55 *ff.*

Christians."[1] It should be remembered that this definition of what constituted a true Church, and that those other agreements which we have just been reviewing in which were recognised the validity of Presbyterian ordination and of Church membership independent of the Episcopacy, were all subscribed to by clergymen of the Church of England, for they constituted practically the entire membership of the Worcestershire Association, and of similar Associations in other counties. This gives us a very significant and entirely trustworthy account of the attitude of great masses of the Anglican clergy in that day relative to the Episcopacy and the other items of polity that go with the High Church view as to what constitutes true Orders and regular Church membership.

Thus we see that the eleven rules of the Worcestershire Association were of such a nature that all who would subscribe thereto were accordingly bound together for a general oversight of each other in matters of doctrine and discipline, for cultural aids to be gained through monthly lectures, and (in point eleven), for special help to young men just beginning their public ministry. Worcestershire was to be divided into five different Associations which were to meet in different places. The scheme seemed ideal, but Baxter states that not one Presbyterian, not one Independent, nor any of the New Prelatical way joined the Association. Practically the entire membership consisted of those who were "meer Catholicks—men of no Faction nor siding with any Party." The Worcestershire Association idea of Baxter's spread, however, to other counties of England such as Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Hampshire, Essex, Cambridge, Cheshire, Cornwall, Devon, Norfolk, Nottingham, Shropshire, and perhaps Herefordshire. That Cumberland and Westmorland Counties had previously undertaken Associations of a like nature we know from a letter which seven ministers from these counties signed and sent to Baxter, September 1, 1653. In this letter they stated that the Congregationalists were most hostile to the plan, and would not read their "Proposals and Reasons."[2]

It is interesting to note that about this time (1656), it is recorded that the Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers of London, after due conference, issued "Heads of Agreement." In Switzerland, four eminent theologians, Osterwald (1633-1747); Heidegger (1670-1740); Turretin (1671-1737); and Werenfels (1675-1740), all sought to turn the tide in theological thought from polemics to irenics.

Baxter's efforts towards Christian Unity in connection with the Savoy Conference of 1661 are recorded in the discussion of that particular event.[3]

[1] Baxter, *Christian Concord*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[2] F. J. Powicke, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–171. For a full account of the Worcestershire Association Movement see *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, or Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of His Life and Times.* Published by Matthew Sylvester, London, 1696. See especially p. 146, xxiii.

[3] See text, p. 65*ff.*

JOHN DURY[1]

In John Dury, graduate of Oxford, Presbyterian pastor of a congregation of English merchants in Elbing, Prussia, in 1628, and for the remainder of his life ambassador at large amongst the Churches of the British Isles and the Continent, we have one of the most unique figures in the whole drama of Church Unity to date. While pastor in Prussia, he was invited by Dr. Godemann, a Privy Councillor and civil magistrate of Gustavus Adolphus, to assist in an effort to bring unity between the Reformed Churches. There is a possibility that the Swedish king had asked Godemann to take this step. At any rate, having been assured of support by the King of Sweden and several prominent clergymen, John Dury journeyed to England that he might treat with the English prelates. Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Laud, Bishop of London, influenced King Charles II. to receive him favourably. From that time onward Dury's life, filled with an almost incredible amount of travel and negotiations for which he was fortified with letters of commendation and declarations of desire for ecclesiastical peace, may be divided into three main periods.[2]

First Period (1628-1641) : Dury conducted negotiations in Prussia, at Danzig and Elbing ; in England with the Nonconformist ministers, Colton, White, Davenport and Nye, as well as with Bishops Davenport, Hall, Morton and others, besides the best prelatical men such as Mr. Meade, Dr. Featly, etc. ; in Scotland, with the Faculty if the University of Aberdeen, with the ministers of Edinburgh, with Scots Commissioners sent from time to time into England ; and with the General Assembly at Edinburgh ; in Ireland, with the Bishops of Armagh, Kilmore, and Ardagh ; in the Low Countries, with many Synods ; in Germany, with King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden ; and also with various leaders in Switzerland, France, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Transylvania.

Second Period (1641-1654) : A time of inactivity due to domestic troubles in England.

Third Period (1654-1657) : Because of Dury's rather close relations with the leaders of the Commonwealth he found little favour with Charles II. and his Lord Chancellor, Hyde. Nevertheless, he held conferences with the more prominent clergy of both Oxford and Cambridge, and with the principal divines in and about London. He also journeyed extensively in Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries. Being in increasing disfavour at the English Court, he spent his latter days in Hesse-Cassel, where, by correspondence and as a pamphleteer, he continued to act as a " counsellor of peace " until his death in 1680.

[1] M. Tabaraud, *De la Réunion des Communions Chrétiennes, ou Histoire des Négociations, Conférences, Correspondances qui ont eu lieu, des Projets et des Plans, qui ont été formés à ce sujet, depuis la naissance du protestantisme jusqu' à présent.* Adrien Le Clere, Paris, 1808, pp. 301–304.

[2] See *A Summarie Account of Mr. John Dury's Former and Latter Negotiations for the procuring of true Gospell Peace, with Christian Moderation and Charitable Unity amongst the Protestant Churches and Academies.* London, 1657.

His method was the promotion of unity around a conference board. He discouraged polemics, and eschewed disputations. He set forth three ways " to heal our present distempers." (1) Let all parties who take the Holy Scriptures for their Rule of Faith and Practice set forth the fundamentals in matters of Doctrine and Practice, or that wherein they profess full agreement. (2) Let men declare their disagreements, these to be followed by the ways or means of reconciliation set down by the more moderate ones of all parties. (3) Let the same parties declare both positively and negatively the rules by which they are willing to walk inoffensively toward those with whom they disagree ; and, in case of offense, how the same ought to be taken away by mutual consent.[1]

When Dury was in Sweden, at the University of Ubsall (Upsala), in 1638, the Professors of Divinity set down these conditions upon which they were ready to agree and " joyn with the reformed side : "

1. " That a full agreement should be made in all the fundamental Articles of Faith.

2. " That all errors overtaking the foundation, or tending to overthrow the same, should be condemned.

3. " That in matters Ceremoniall and of indifferency, there should be mutual toleration.

4. " That betwixt the parties united, sincerity and uprightness should be maintained, lest ancient errors might be upheld under doubtful speeches.

5. " That when peace is made, none should be suffered to maintain, excuse, or spread any more the errors once condemned.

6. " That ambitious and needless disputes and brablings should be inhibited on all sides.

7. " That former reproaches and injuries should be put to oblivion.

8. " That the Church government should be settled according to apostolical rules."[2]

As we read the foregoing proposals, we are struck with the feeling that the very best suggested bases for Christian re-union to-day could scarcely be an improvement over those of the Swedish Professors of 1638. In connection with these proposals there are left on record but few other definite actions taken by responsible bodies, either civil or ecclesiastical, as the result of Dury's labours. In 1645 he, with Richard Baxter and others, the Westminster Assembly being in session, met to bring about peace amongst the Church parties. In *A Summarie Account of Mr. John Dury, etc.* (the authorship of which is unknown), three separate Declarations of the Parliament of England are given, presumably the result, at least in part, of Dury's agitation.

(1) Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, published by the Parliament of 1641 : " Wee will labour by all offices of friendship, to unite the foreign churches with us in the same cause : and to seek their liberty, safety, and prosperity, as bound thereunto by charity unto them and by wisedom for our own good : for by this means our

[1] See *A Summarie Account*, etc., *op. cit.*

[2] John Dury, *A Briefe Relation of That which hath been lately attempted to procure Ecclesiastical Peace amongst Protestants*, London, 1657.

strength shall be increased ; and by a mutuall concurrence to the same common end we shall be able to procure the good of the whole body of the Protestant profession."

" (2), in the National League and Covenant, ... our affectionate desire is : ' That the success of our proceedings may bee deliverance and saftie to all God's people, and encouragement to other Christian Churches, groaning under and in danger of the yoak of Anti-christian Tyranny, to join with us in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, and the enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ, and the Peace and tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms and Commonwealths.' "

" (3) In Parliament held in 1633 the Declaration published July 12th, addressed to all God's people, as well in neighbor Nations as in this, Whereupon their earnest praier is put up unto him : ' That God would unite their hearts unto himself, that they may bee one among themselves, and with all the people of God who are members of the body of Christ ; and that they may bee fitted and used as Instruments in the hand of God ; for a more full and clear revealing of the Lord Jesus, and a right promulgation of the blessed Gospell, and the true interest of his Kingdom and the advance thereof ! ' " The crediting of the three foregoing achievements to Dury, in part, would probably be slightly questioned by some.

JOHN DAVENANT (1572-1641)

John Davenant contributed to John Dury's Eirenicon, *de pace ecclesiastica inter evangelicos* (1634), in such a manner that Bishop Hall in his " Peacemaker " referred to that writing as " a Golden Tractate." In another treatise, which is to be found in Davenant's English translation of the " Exhortation to Brotherly Communion " (London, 1641), he sets down as the main difficulties these problems : (1) the presence of Christ in the Eucharist ; (2) the ubiquity of Christ's Humanity and " the communication of properties ; " (3) Predestination and Free Will. Since it is impossible to have perfect agreement where there is imperfect knowledge, he believed that the acceptance of the Apostles' Creed ought to be a sufficient basis for communion. He did not consider the differences between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians as presenting any particular difficulty to re-union. Davenant summarized his plea " for a restoration of fraternal communion between evangelical churches " by saying that " they do not differ on any fundamental article of the Christian faith."[1]

HUGO GROTIUS

In 1642 Hugo Grotius published, at Amsterdam, his *Via ad pacem ecclesiasticam* and *Votum pro pace ecclesiastica*. In the Introduction of the latter he writes that he was instructed from

[1] Ollard & Crosse, *op. cit.*, art. on *Re-union*, by S. L. Ollard.

childhood in the Holy Scriptures, but by teachers who thought not alike concerning things divine. " I understood that Christ had willed that all named after him, and trusting in his salvation, should be one with the Father . . . . and the beauty of the primitive Church did greatly please me, at that time when she was without question Catholic, since all Christians, save a few separated and clearly distinguished parts. remained in one communion, from the Rhine to Africa and Egypt, from the Britannic ocean to the Euphrates." Grotius says that he gained his first ideas of re-union from a Father Junius, and that these ideas had been strengthened by his perusal of Cassander's writings. This is especially true of Grotius in *Votum pro pace ecclesiastica*. He was very sympathetic with the works of John Dury, to whom he wrote a most cordial letter in 1641. Grotius denied Episcopacy as the *esse* of the Church, although he recognized its historical position. He held that the secular power should be supreme " over all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil." Very rightly Grotius asked the question : " If we obtain no more than that we diminish hatred, and make Christians kinder and nearer to one another, is not even this worth the labour and the obloquy with which we must purchase it ? "[1]

Grotius was willing that the Remonstrants, Contra-Remonstrants, Lutherans, Socinians, and Roman Catholics should all be joined in one alliance. He very greatly regretted that the Reformation had led to so much quarrelling. He believed that the English Church had acted more wisely than had the Calvinist Church of the Continent, since the former had taken from Catholicism that which was not contrary to the gospel, and had retained the ancient organization of the Christian Church. He held that the maxim of Vincentius of Lerins, " teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est," was the true basis for universal Christian union.[2]

GEORGE CALIXTUS (1586-1656)

The Thirty Years' War served to convince George Calixtus, who in 1614 was made Professor of Theology at Helmstadt, that the emphasis within Christendom should be on life and not on matters of doctrine and polity.[3] In his student days, he had studied the characteristics of the Reformed and Roman Catholic Churches in comparison with the Lutheran ; this led him to have a very irenic spirit. At Helmstadt he used all his powers as a teacher to minimize the differences between Roman and Lutheran doctrines, thus building up a following amongst the younger Lutheran leaders. He, with many of his disciples, had a part in the Council of Thorn (1645), but the Conservatives accused them of failure to conserve the positive achievements of the Reforma-

[1] John de Soyres, *op. cit.*, p. 30 *ff.*

[2] Hugonis Grotii, *Votum Pro Pace Ecclesiastica Contra Examen Andreæ et alios irreconciliabiles*, 1642. Also C. Butler, *Life of Hugo Grotius*, London, 1826 ; and L. Neumann, *Hugo Grotius*, 1583–1645, Berlin, 1884.

[3] W. C. Dowding, " German Theology During the Thirty Years' War," *Life and Correspondence of G. Calixtus*, London, 1863.

tion, and were irreconcilable. To them Calixtus's syncretism was a compromise with evil.

Calixtus held that the Apostles' Creed and the general consensus of the first five centuries constituted a sufficient norm for re-union. He suggested certain governing principles that should underlie any successful effort to heal the breaches in the Church. He taught that they should distinguish between what was necessary and unnecessary to salvation, and practise toleration ; that all mutual abuse should cease ; that all questions which do not further piety, or have meaning for the Sacraments or for the whole Church, should be omitted from general consideration ; that the differences which are inevitable may very well be expressed ; that, in the case of the Mysteries, it shall be considered as to what may be held to be essential, with the agreements respecting these essentials, and what may not be considered as necessary ; that an agreement couched in the simplest expression of dogma is enough ; that the affirmations generally conceded in the past by the Church should not be inveighed against ; and that the teachings of the Confession should be drawn from the official creeds of the Church.[1]

PRESBYTERIANISM OR THE REFORMED RELIGION MADE OFFICIALLY UNIFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN (1643-1659)

In the course of our study we consider the efforts of 1610[2] and 1661[3] to introduce the English Episcopacy into Scotland. Both of these finally terminated in failure, so far as uniting the Church of Scotland with the Church of England was concerned. A remnant of the Scottish Episcopate continued on after 1689, constituting the beginning of the Scottish Episcopal Church, which is now in communion with the Church of England. Aside from this, the Church of Scotland with its Presbyterian polity remained quite apart from the Establishment of England, except that the King was pledged to defend the integrity of each.

Between the foregoing dates there occurred a constitutional revolution which practically, though not absolutely, resulted in the union of the Churches of England and Scotland by the abolition of the Episcopacy in England, and the institution of Presbyterianism in its place, thus making the latter the " official " if not the wholly actual Church system of the land.

The causes which led up to this revolution were numerous and complicated, but they were quite the same as those which led up to the public indignation against the negotiations of Charles I. with the Roman Church, against bishops for their tyrannies and for their support of the King, and against the Archbishop of Canterbury,

[1] Hans Friedrich, *Georg Calixtus, der Unionsmann des 17. Jahrhunderts: In wiefern sind seine Bestrebungen berichtigt?* A. Schmidt's Verlag in Anklam, 1891, p. 31 *ff.*

[2] See p. 40 *ff.*

[3] See p. 67 *ff.*

William Laud, and King Charles I., resulting in the beheading of the former on January 10, 1645, and of the latter in 1649. In the early '40's of that century, the English Parliament passed an Ordinance which called for what has been known as the Westminster Assembly, whose business it was to ascertain and recommend, after due conference, what was for the best interests of the religious life of the realm.[1] This Assembly met for the first time on July 1, 1643. As it was originally constituted by Parliament it was made up of one hundred nineteen divines, twenty members of the House of Commons, and ten members of the House of Lords, one hundred and forty-nine in all. Finally there were one hundred and fifty-one designated as members, although there were but sixty-nine present at the first session of the Assembly in Westminster Abbey and Henry VII.'s Chapel. This number represented the average attendance at the regular sessions held in the Jerusalem Chamber of the Abbey.[2] Up to February, 1648, they had held one thousand, one hundred and sixty-three sessions. They continued to sit until 1652, for the purpose of examining candidates for the ministry. On the original roster the defenders of Episcopacy were Archbishop Ussher, Bishops Brownrigge and Westfield, Drs. Featley, Hacket, Hammond, Holdsworth (Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge), Morley, Nicholson, Sanderson (Professor of Divinity at Oxford), and Ward (Master of Sidney Sussex College). Of these, only Bishop Westfield and Dr. Featley attended, and that for but a short time, the former dying on June 25, 1644 and the latter being expelled in September, 1643. The leading Independents present were: Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, Jeremiah Burroughs, and Sidrach Simpson.[3] Most of the remainder were staunch Presbyterians.

Briefly stated, the work of this very noted Assembly was as follows: On August 4, 1643, they joined with Parliament in petitioning the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to send representatives to the Westminster parley. On August 28-29, the Covenant agreed upon by the Scottish Assembly having been sent in advance of their taking any part at Westminster was discussed at that conclave. On September 15, the Scotch Commissioners arrived and took their seats in the Westminster Assembly. Then on Monday, September 25, 1643, this Assembly, together with the House of Commons, entered into the Solemn League and Covenant in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.[4] They solemnly engaged themselves to preserve the Reformed Religion in Scotland, England, and Ireland, and to " endeavor to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion,

[1] *Minutes of the Sessions of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, 3 Vols., Williams' Library, London. A. F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly, its History and Standards*, London, 1883. C. A. Briggs, " The Documentary History of the Westminster Assembly," *The Presbyterian Review*, 1880, p. 127 *ff.*

[2] See Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, Edinburgh, 1775, p. 398, for a most interesting description of the Sessions of this Assembly.

[3] A. F. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[4] *The Covenant with a Narrative of the Proceedings of Solemn Manner of Taking by the Honourable House of Commons and Reverent Assembly of Divines*, September 25th, published by Special Order of the House, London, 1643.

Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, directory for Worship, and Catechizing " ; that they would " in like manner . . . . endeavor the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deanes, Deanes and Chapters, Arch-deacons," etc). When soon thereafter a dispute arose as to the meaning of the " true reformed Protestant Religion expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England," Parliament explained by an added paragraph that this included " only the public doctrine professed in the said Church " and did not include " any forms of Worship, Discipline, or Government, nor any Rites or Ceremonies " of that Church.[1]

The Assembly then addressed themselves to the task of revising the Thirty-nine Articles. By order of Parliament they discontinued this work on October 17th, having gone as far as the discussion of Article XVI, and gave their attention to questions of discipline and government. They divided the Province of London into twelve classical elderships. The extension of Presbyterian polity was continued until the Province of Lancaster was likewise fully organized along Presbyterian lines. All the other Counties of England had begun to take similar steps before the reaction set in which ended in the Restoration of the Church of England and the Crown in 1660. The Assembly, anticipating the abolition of the Prayer Book on January 4, 1645, constructed a " Directory for Worship," which was first printed March 13, 1644. They next began their work of constructing the famous Westminster Confession[2] of Faith on August 20,1644, completing the same for printing on June 27, 1648. In connection with the Confession they made ready, for publication in 1647, the Larger and Shorter Catechism. So much for the very great accomplishments of this Assembly, which was one of the most noted in the history of the Christian Church.

In the meantime, Parliament was negotiating with the King at Oxford, asking his consent to a Bill for the utter abolition of all Bishops, Archbishops, etc.[3] This came to a head on November 24, 1644. Similar propositions were later made to him at Newcastle. In answer to these Charles I. stated that he was ready to " confirm the Presbyterial Government, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the Directory, for three years (being the time set down by the two houses), so that his Majesty and his household be not hindered from using that form of God's service which they have formerly."[4] He proposed that a free debate be had by the divines at Westminster, with twenty additional members to be added by himself, to determine the form of Church polity after the three years.

[1] *England and Scotland's Covenant with Their God*, 1643, printed at Edw. Husbards, 1643, B.M. Library, K9512, a.3.

[2] Dr. A. F. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, indicates quite clearly that, in the absence of Archbishop Ussher, the Westminster Assembly made large use of the Articles of the Irish Church, the work of Ussher, in their creation of the Westminster Confession, thus indicating, as far as possible, their agreement with him on matters of doctrine.

[3] S. R. Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 1625–1660, 2nd ed. revised and enlarged, Oxford, 1899, p. 275.

[4] *Idem*, p. 313.

Then on November 17, 1647, the King definitely stated that, though he could not give his consent to the abolition of the Episcopacy, he was ready to permit the Presbyterian government, as then in operation, to be legal, provided he and his household were allowed to worship as formerly. His loyalty to the Episcopacy to the end has resulted in his being regarded as a martyr by some of the English Catholic faith of to-day.

On October 13, 1646, Parliament passed an ordinance for "the Abolishing of Archbishops and Bishops, within the Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales, and for setling the Lands and Possessions upon Trustees for the use of the Commonwealth."[1] An Ordinance for the setting up of Presbyterian Government had already been passed by Parliament on March 14, 1645.

By the foregoing steps the Episcopacy was officially supplanted by Presbytery, and the revolution by Parliamentary enactment and by the King's reluctant and conditional consent was complete.[2]

During the Protectorate, Oliver Cromwell strove to be tolerant to all sects or Churches, but in 1655 he established Presbyterianism by edict and deprived the ejected clergy of the right to act even as schoolmasters, chaplains, or lecturers and from all "preaching or ministering in public or private."[3] Cromwell died in 1658, and the suppression of the worship of the Anglican Church continued until 1659. Altogether, the inauguration of Presbyterianism resulted in the removal of about two thousand clergy from their livings. The restoration of 1660, with the Act of Uniformity in 1662, brought about the ejection of a corresponding number of ministers from their parishes.

Thus through these troublesome years the Churches of England and Scotland were united in that they were both officially Presbyterian. But the recital of the Prayer Book from memory, and the secret replenishing of the ministry by means of Episcopal ordination became quite prevalent.[4] The whole experiment proved a failure. It is not to be wondered at that at the time of the Savoy Conference, when the reactions against forced Presbyterianism get in, the dissenting clergy present, including Richard Baxter, found themselves confronted by a group of Bishops who, backed by Parliament, were in no mood to compromise or to seek a scheme of comprehensive unity.

THE SAVOY CONFERENCE (1661)

The history of this Conference[5] should be studied with the knowledge that it came at the time of the Restoration, following the Puritanic,

[1] Published by Order of Parliament, in London, printed by John Wright, Oct. 14th, 1646.

[2] See W. A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, 1640–1660, 2 Vols., Longmans, London, 1900, Vol. I, Preface, pp. 7–8.

[3] W. B. Carpenter, *A Popular History of the Church of England*, London, John Murray, 1900, p. 289.

[4] H. H. Hutton, *The Age of Revolution*, 1614–1815, Rivingtons, London, 1908, p. 95 *ff.*

[5] *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, *op. cit.*, pp. 304–367; also, *A Petition for Peace*, etc., *op. cit.*; and Roger L'Estrange, *An Answer to the Petition for Peace*, London,

militaristic régime of the Commonwealth, when every reaction was in favour of a return to the Episcopacy and the King, Charles II. The bishops, and other Anglican clergy, in the Savoy Conference knew that their cause was in the ascendancy. They were in no mood to compromise. Parliament itself was wholly on their side. Consequently, when the Puritan representatives, namely Bishop Edward Reignolds of Norwich, Richard Baxter, Dr. William Spurstow, Dr. John Wallis, Dr. Thomas Manton and Thomas Case with their alternates, Dr. Thomas Jacomb, Dr. William Bates, John Robinson, William Cooper, Dr. John Lightfoot, (together with certain others)[1] met with the Anglican prelates and lesser clergy,[2] they found the latter in a rather dictatory mood. They met at the Savoy, which was the London residence of the Bishop of London. Pleading ignorance of the King's mind, the Archbishop of York asked the Bishop of London to preside. The latter at once asked the Puritans to present all their suggestions, alterations, and objections, since it was they, and not the party representing the *status quo*, who had petitioned for the Conference. The Puritans answered by saying that the Commission of Charles II. was to the effect that they were to assemble and "meet together to advise and confer." However, at Baxter's urging, the Puritans agreed to get together all of their suggestions. Baxter was to draw up the "Additions and new Forms."[3] For this task he took a fortnight. To the others of the Puritan Party was assigned the work of drawing up the "Exceptions against the Common Prayer."[4]

On May 4, these "Exceptions" and "Additions" were presented to the Bishops in conference. As an insight into what was happening in England generally, and in London in particular, at that time, the National Vow and Covenant was burned in the street by the common hangman on May 22, and that by the order of Parliament. Presbyterianism was thereby degraded and the Episcopacy and Divine Right exalted.

We are not surprised that Baxter wrote that the bishops made no "Abatements or Alterations at all, that are worth the Naming."[5] Baxter was delegated by his colleagues to make a reply to the bishops'

1661. In this book the author severely attacks *A Petition for Peace*, ostensibly for its anonymity, although it is clearly an outburst against Puritanism in the day when the divine right of bishop and king, as a dogma, was at its height, just preceding the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

[1] Dr. Anthony Tucker, Dr. John Conant, Edmund Calamy, Arthur Jackson, Samuel Clark, Matthew Newcomen, Dr. Thomas Horton, Dr. John Collins, Dr. Benjamin Woodbridge, and William Drake.

[2] Archbishop Frewen of York; Bishop Gilbert Sheldon of London; Bishop John Cosins of Durham; Bishop John Warner of Rochester; Bishop Henry King of Chichester (commissioned but attended no sessions); Bishop Humphrey Hinchman of Sarum; Bishop George Morley, Worcester; Bishop Robert Sanderson, Lincoln; Bishop Benjamin Lany, Peterborough; Bishop Bryan Walton, Chester; Bishop Richard Sterne, Carlisle; Bishop John Gordon, Exeter; with the alternates, Dean Earles, Westminster; Dr. Peter Heylyn; Dr. John Hacket; Dr. John Barwick; Dr. Peter Gunning; Dr. John Pierson; Dr. Thomas Pierce; Dr. Anthony Sparrow; and Herbert Thorndike.

[3] *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, op. cit.*, pp. 308–316.

[4] *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, op. cit.*, pp. 316–333.

[5] *Idem*, p. 334.

uncompromising answer. He retired to the home of Dr. Spurstow in Hackney, where in eight days he drew up a reply. Again the Conference assembled. The King had limited their time to four months. Both sides felt that, should they give up deputation, they would be accused of weakness, but being unwilling to sit in weary full sessions, each side delegated a few to remain and argue. One day Baxter, who writes that he was especially impressed with the honest, grave, and sober face of the Bishop of Carlisle, who had not once spoken up to that time, was suddenly disillusioned by that Bishop criticizing his use of the phrase, "through the nation," charging that he did not say "in the kingdom," "lest he own a King."[1]

To guard against the public being misinformed as to what transpired at this Conference, as they had been in connection with the Hampton Court Conference, Baxter drew up "A Report to the King." He submitted this report to the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chamberlain, who deleted certain passages. Those passages are of real significance in our study of the problems of Christian unity. They are set off in parenthesis in the following quotation.

"We have been the Seekers and Followers of Peace, and have earnestly pleaded, and humbly petitioned for it; (and offered for it any price below the offence of God Almighty, and the wounding or hazard of our own, or of the Peoples' Souls; and that we have in season borne our testimony against these Extreams which at last will appear to those that do not now discern it, to have proceeded from uncharitable mistake, and tended to the disunion and trouble of the Church: that whatever shall become of Charity, Unity, and Concord, our Life, our Beauty, and our Bands, our Consciences tell us we have not deserted them, nor left any probable means unattempted, which we could discern within our power.)

"May none of our Sufferings hinder the Prosperity of the Church, and the good of Souls (of Men! May not our dread Sovereign, the Breath of our Nostrils, be tempted by mis-representations to distrust such as are faithful, and unawares to wrong the interest of Christ, and put forth his hand to afflict those that Christ would have him cherish, lest their Head should be provoked to jealousie and offense! May not the Land of our Nativity languish in Divisions, nor be filled with the Groans of those that are shut out of the holy Assemblies, and those that want the necessary breaking of the Bread of Life! Nor be disappointed of its expected Peace and Joy! Let not these things befall us) and we have enough."[2]

SECOND ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE THE ANGLICAN EPISCOPATE INTO SCOTLAND—1661

The Commonwealth having been overthrown, the House of Stuart having been reseated on the throne (in the person of Charles II.) and the Anglican Episcopal ordinations introduced into Scotland

[1] *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, *op. cit.*, p. 338.
[2] *Idem*, p. 367.

in 1610[1] having been practically wholly rejected by this time, a second attempt was made to introduce the English Episcopate into Scotland. The precedent of 1610 was not followed. The candidates to be made bishops in this instance were not consecrated *per saltum*, but were first episcopally ordained deacons and priests, as was the case with Sharp, who was then consecrated Bishop of St. Andrews, and Leighton who was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane. Fairfoul, who was consecrated Archbishop of Glasgow, and Hamilton, consecrated Bishop of Galloway, had previously been ordained priests in the Scottish Church under the Episcopate of 1610.[2] The consecrations of 1661 took place in London with the Bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Llandaff officiating. When the newly-consecrated bishops returned to Scotland they, on their part, consecrated others to the bishopric *per saltum*, in certain instances, just as in 1610. By such a manner the Scottish Sees were filled within a year.[3] The See of Orkney was occupied by Thomas Sydserff, the only surviving member of the 1610 Episcopate. He took no part in the consecration of the other bishops.

The present-day Episcopal Church in Scotland, which was disestablished in 1689, is a survival of the 1661 Episcopate. The fact that certain of the bishops were consecrated *per saltum* causes some Catholics to have a slight distrust for the Scottish Episcopal Orders, as well as for the Orders of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, its first bishop[4] having been consecrated by Scottish bishops. For the same reasons these Catholics distrust the Scotch Presbyterian Orders, since they came down through the Episcopate discarded in 1689. All such distrust indicates addiction to mechanical sacerdotalism.

LEIBNITZ, MOLANUS, SPINOLA, BOSSUET

In 1679, the Spanish Franciscan, Christopher Rojas de Spinola, who had been in the employ of Philip IV. of Spain and who had been appointed plenipotentiary of the Emperor to negotiate with the German Princes relative to re-union in 1661, was advanced to the office of accredited agent for ecclesiastical affairs. That same year he paid a visit to the Elector John Frederick of Hanover with the hope of gaining his personal consent to aid in accomplishing re-union between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. As an apologetic for the Catholic faith he made use of Bossuet's *Exposition of the Catholic Faith*, published in 1671. He even tried to persuade Bossuet to assist personally in the negotiations. At the Court of John Frederick, the highly-respected Protestant Duke, were certain noted persons. Amongst others were Father Dionysius, a Roman Catholic Capuchin, author of *Via Pacis;* Nicholas Steno, the

[1] See pp. 40–43 of text.
[2] Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, Vol. I, p. 139.
[3] Rev. T. Hannan, "The Scottish Consecrations in London," art. in *Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXXI, Jan. 1911, p. 387 *ff.*
[4] Samuel Seabury, The First Protestant Episcopalian Bishop of Connecticut.

Catholic Bishop of Titiopolis; and Gerhard Molanus, a Lutheran who was Abbot of Lokkum and President of the Consistory of Hanover, and one with whom Leibnitz was a very intimate friend.

It was at the request of Leibnitz[1] that Spinola wrote to Bossuet and included a suggestion that it was necessary to interest King Louis XIV. In Bossuet's reply he stated that Louis was favourably disposed to union. Writing to Huet on August 1, 1679, Leibnitz said in the letter, "So propitious do the circumstances appear to me, that I hope to see a union effected at once honourable to the Roman Church, and not oppressive for the other party." In this letter he gives as reasons for believing the time to be propitious for re-union the very high and noble character and the ability of Pope Innocent XI., of Louis XIV., of Philip IV., and of the civil rulers in Germany. But the death of the Duke, John Frederick, in December, 1679, broke off the negotiations.

In 1683, Spinola, who was most sanguine and who made representations which would have seemed to have indicated that the Pope was willing to pass lightly over the decrees of the Council of Trent, renewed negotiations. His excessive sanguinity aroused doubts in Leibnitz's mind. On January 5, 1684, Leibnitz wrote to Molanus, expressing his doubts and apprehensions, and advising caution. It was in this year, 1684, or possibly in the latter part of 1683, that he published anonymously his famous *Systema Theologicum*. For a long time the Protestants, who were unwilling that the great philosopher should be counted as a supporter of Roman doctrines, insisted that Leibnitz was not its author. That he was the author is, however, now accepted by all authorities.[2]

In Leibnitz's *Systema Theologicum* we have a rather remarkable piece of irenics in the form of an apology for the Roman Catholic theology, written by a Protestant philosopher and theologian. At certain points he became "ultramontanist" that he might the more successfully hide the Protestant authorship. He sets down in a somewhat systematic fashion expositions of such subjects as God, Evil, Salvation, Miracles, the Trinity, the Incarnation, Freedom of the Will and Inborn Sin, Salvation Restricted and the System of Merit, Religious Orders, Roman Ceremonials, Invocation of Saints and Angels, the Sacraments (all of the Roman ones being approved), Infant Baptism by authority of the Church and not of the Scripture, Transubstantiation (approved), Communion in one kind, Adoration of the Eucharist (which is a sacrifice), Heaven, Hell, Resurrection of the Body, and Purgatory. Leibnitz undoubtedly hoped to create such a rational, irenical, and satisfying exposition of the Catholic doctrines that the Protestants, finding in it no bases for further objections, would readily consent to re-union with Rome.

In M. A. Foucher de Careil's *Letters of Leibnitz to Bossuet*, Leibnitz's plans for Christian re union are more clearly revealed.

[1] (G. W. Leibnitz) *Œuvres Publiées pour la première fois d'après les Manuscrits Originaux avec notes et introductions*, par A. Foucher de Careil. Tomes 6. Paris. 1859–1864.

[2] Leibnitz, *System of Theology*, translated by C. W. Russell, D.D., London, 1850. Introduction.

In 1690 Spinola, again commissioned by the Emperor to negotiate with the Protestants, engaged in an extended correspondence with Gerhard Molanus, a disciple of George Calixtus. This correspondence came to an abrupt close by the death of Spinola in 1695. Bossuet became his successor and it was with him that Leibnitz, very much discouraged by the failure of the negotiations of Molanus and Spinola, began a noted correspondence.

In outline, the scheme of Leibnitz was as follows: First, the Roman Church should withdraw the charge of heresy against the Protestants. An œcumenical Council should be called, but preceding this Council there could be a preliminary re union on the following commonly accepted terms: (1) Communion in two kinds should be permitted to the Protestants, the Romans to continue to commune in one kind; (2) Such practices as solitary masses, the use of an unknown language, and similar foreign usages are not to be injected into the Protestant Churches; these will be permitted to worship in accordance with their own forms. The Protestants are to show the same tolerance to the Romans, believing that the Pope will do away with those things which are offensive to piety; (3) Marriage of the clergy should be left optional; (4) Previous Protestant ordinations are to be regarded as valid, but for the future all that the Romans regard as essential to valid orders should be observed; (5) The distribution of Church property made by the Treaty of Westphalia would be honoured as binding; (6) All anathemas and excommunications affecting the Protestants should be removed by the Pope. All further disagreements were to be left for settlement by an œcumenical Council.

In correspondence with the foregoing, the Protestants should agree to do the following: (1) To recognize in the Bishop and See of Rome a primacy of order, dignity, and direction over the whole universal Church . . . . to honour and respect him as the supreme Patriarch, chief Bishop of the Catholic Church, and chief ecclesiastical minister, and to be obedient to him according to the right that belongs to spiritual matters; (2) To recognize the validity of the established hierarchy; (3) To regard the Roman Catholics as brethren, showing charity and cultivating unity, regardless as to those differences yet to be solved by the proposed Council; (4) Both the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, when union is once effected, will work together to extend it and to make it permanent; (5) In event of an œcumenical Council, the Protestants shall hold themselves as bound by all its findings. In such a Council the Protestant Clergy shall have equal power with the Roman Catholic Clergy, and shall have similar standing corresponding to their present status in the Protestant Church.

Following the foregoing projects, Leibnitz set down a list of three decads of controversial subjects, considered by him to be verbal rather than material, or at least subjects whose settlement was not germane to the main issues. But he did definitely state that the Pope should publicly announce that the true definition of the dogma enacted, in the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent, relative to the adoration of Christ in the Eucharist with the highest worship (*du culte de latrie*), be defined as Christ's gracious and sacramental

presence, and not merely honour to the elements of bread and wine. He also stated that the only Sacraments to be recognized should be Baptism, the Eucharist, and Absolution, which is in accordance with the Augsburg Confession. It is interesting to note here that when Leibnitz was writing incognito, as in his *Systema Theologicum*, he found a way to approve all seven of the Roman Sacraments.

Leibnitz was definitely opposed to the Council of Trent, declaring it to have been " that band of petty Italian Bishops " . . . . that . . . . " had fabricated decisions which were to bind the whole Church." In his attitude we have a foreshadowing of the somewhat similar attitude of Döllinger following the Vatican Council of 1869-1870.

Generally speaking, Leibnitz's scheme for re-union involved three main factors. First, he tried to bring peace by reconciliation of doctrine. This is illustrated in his *Systema Theologicum*, although in a letter to Fabricus dated 1697, he wrote : " I, too, have worked hard to settle religious controversies, but I soon discovered that reconciling doctrines was a vain work. Then I planned a truce of God ; *inducias tantum sacras excogitare volui* ; and I brought the idea of toleration which had already been suggested in the Treaty of Westphalia."[1]

In the second place, as just indicated, Leibnitz would have toleration furthered on the part of the Roman Catholics by their setting aside the decrees of the Council of Trent which, in Leibnitz's estimation, made it impossible for the Protestants to consider re-union. He believed that France would especially support him in this plea for toleration. In 1691 he wrote : " We are debtors to France for having preserved the liberty of the Church against the infallibility of the Pope ; if it had not been so, I believe that the largest part of the West would have already submitted to the yoke ; but it must continue to oblige the Church by remaining in that necessary firmness *contre le surprises ultra-montaines* which it formerly showed by opposing the reception of the Council of Trent ; an opposition which it had not yet withdrawn, nor has anything happened since why it should."[2] To this appeal the French nation did not respond. Leibnitz made this proposal to the French Court through Duke Ulrich. Many exchanges of letters between Leibnitz and Bossuet followed. Pope Clement XI. intervened at this juncture to inquire of Bossuet as to the substance of the correspondence.

The third factor in Leibnitz's scheme for re-union was a General Council in which the Protestants should be on an equal footing with the Catholics.

According to M. A. Foucher de Careil, all these counter-proposals for Christian unity came to naught for the following reasons : (1) The negotiations changed from being religious to being political ; (2) Leibnitz never really forgave Louis XIV. for revoking the Edict of Nantes ; (3) The Treaty of Ryswick[3] aroused the jealousies of the Protestants and caused the Germans, in particular, no longer

[1] M. A. Foucher de Careil, *Letters of Leibnitz*, etc., *op. cit.*, Tome ii, xcv.

[2] M. A. Foucher de Careil, *Letters of Leibnitz to Bousset*, Tome ii, xcv. Leibnitz, *Œuvres*, etc., *op. cit.*, i, 165.

[3] See p. 110 text.

to desire unity in religion ; (4) England's sympathetic interest in any scheme for re-union with Rome was removed by the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne ; (5) Though Pope Innocent XI. desired re union, this was not true of his successor Clement XI. ; (6) The temper of the 18th Century was very different from that of the 17th Century. The latter was a time when men sought to gain their larger interests through union, but the 18th Century was vocal with battle cries for freedom, individual and national.

As the years draw on when the final goal of Christian re-union seems to be more nearly attained, Leibnitz will be held in increasing admiration. While it is probable that the interest of some of the civil princes and religious leaders concerned in the unity movements of his day was due to their desire for political safety or economic gain, yet the character of the chief actors of the drama would indicate that all the negotiations were on an exceptionally high plane. So far as Leibnitz himself is concerned, only the highest motives seem to have actuated him in all that he wrote and did. He was not only a great philosopher, but he was an irenical theologian far in advance of his time. He likewise had the good judgment to see that which we especially recognize more perfectly to-day, namely, that interstate or international federation or re-union must in a very large way be advanced in conjunction with religious or church federation and unity. It is probable that neither will be ultimately consummated without the other.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT, PETER THE GREAT, AND THE GALLICAN-RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS—1713

The early part of the eighteenth century witnessed several efforts to re unite the Eastern, the Western, and the Anglican Churches. In these efforts Peter the Great of Russia figures as the mediator[1] in two : those between the Gallicans of France and the Russian-Eastern Churches, and between the Scotch and English Non-juring Bishops and the same Eastern Churches. The Gallicans were also parties to two efforts, that between themselves and Archbishop Wake of Canterbury, and that between themselves and the Eastern Orthodox. Archbishop Wake also had a prominent part in the efforts to further union between the Anglican and Gallican Churches, and also in the condemning and stopping of the correspondence of the Non-jurors with the Eastern Prelates, through Peter the Great as a mediator.

The Archbishop of Utrecht, Barchman Wuytiers, was involved in the Gallican-Russian negotiations, finally becoming, along with Peter the Great, one of the chief actors in the parley. The rather strange history of those activities follows.

The doctors of the Sorbonne, being greatly agitated by the issue of

[1] Peter the Great's part was one of good will with certain financial assistance. He saw to it that the correspondence was forwarded to the proper persons. The Non-jurors were very dependent upon his meeting the expenses of the envoys going in either direction.

the Papal Constitution, or Bull, *Unigenitus*[1] on September 8, 1713, felt that they could no longer remain comfortably within the Roman fold, and were in a mood to seek union with other Catholic Churches, such as the Anglican and the Eastern. It was just at this time that Peter the Great spent a period in residence at Paris. The Sorbonne Doctors took occasion to lament to Peter about the divisions which kept Eastern and Western Christendom apart. Peter showed great interest, assuring them that, if they would formulate memorials covering the points at issue and expressing a desire for re union, he would certainly see that the memorials were brought to the attention of his Bishops. It so happened that the Russian Bishops at that time were chiefly under the influence of Theodosius, Archbishop of Novgorod, and Theophanes of Pskoff, who were both well disposed towards the re union of the East and the West. The memorials from the Gallicans came in due time and the Russian Bishops, having given them fitting consideration, returned two replies which, unfortunately, were addressed to Cardinal Dubois, the same Cardinal who was chiefly responsible for stopping the Wake-Dupin correspondence. He at once nipped the whole proceeding in the bud.

The replies were received from the Russian Bishops just at the time when the Princess Galatain, wife of the Russian Prince, Dolgorouki, then resident in Holland, was being received into the Roman Catholic Church by Bishop Wuytiers of Utrecht, a prominent Jansenist. She requested that a Roman priest be assigned to take care of her family in Russia. Bishop Wuytiers chose Mons. Jubé, the incumbent of Asnières, of the diocese of Paris, but resident at that time in Holland because he had not subscribed to the Constitution, "Unigenitus." Just what status Jubé should be given in his work in Russia was considered at the Sorbonne and in Utrecht. Some advised making him a bishop, it being understood that the Metropolitan of Kieff, Archbishop Javoski of Puzan, and Lapatinski of Tver were in favour of such a procedure, but the Archbishop of Utrecht simply gave him all the power that could be conferred upon a priest. Jubé then journeyed to Paris where he received the blessing and goodwill of the Archbishop Cardinal de Noailles. Upon his arrival at Moscow he was shown very special honours, and the negotiations

[1] "*Unigenitus Dei Filius*" (Only-begotten Son of God). Louis XIV. of France, his superstitious nature aroused in connection with his successive defeats in the War of the Spanish Succession, and desirous of turning the tide of defeats, sought to exterminate the supposed enemies of the Church. He requested Pope Clement XI. to issue the above Bull in condemnation of Pasquier Quesnel's *Le Nouveau Testament en français avec des réflexions morales sur chaque vers, pour rendre la lecture plus utile et la méditation plus aisée.* (Paris, 1693–1694). This New Testament in French had been highly commended by Noailles, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, when he was Bishop of Chalons. According to the Bull, 101 propositions of the book were condemned as being Jansenistic. (Cornelius Jansen—died 1638—had, in a treatise entitled "Augustinus," interpreted St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, as teaching that the natural human will is perverse and without ability for good.) Certain features of the Bull transgressed "Gallican Liberties," and aroused intense opposition from the Gallicans, including Louis XIV. himself, and especially his successor, Duke Philip of Orleans. Cardinal Noailles finally submitted to Rome, Oct. 11th, 1728, but a Gallican remnant, together with the Jansenists, never yielded.

between the Eastern and Western Churches were believed to have taken on a very hopeful aspect. The death of Peter the Great stopped these proceedings, as it also did the negotiations between the Scotch and English Non-juring Bishops and the Eastern Churches. But more especially did Peter's death bring the negotiations with the Gallicans to a close, since his successor, the Empress Anne, conceived a mortal hatred towards the Dolgorouki family, and towards anything with which they had to do. Jubé did his best to find all sorts of excuses to delay his return, but to no final avail. He went back to Holland, and all hopes for any further negotiations were given up, since the ecclesiastical authorities of Rome and the civil authorities of Russia were bitterly hostile.[1]

ARCHBISHOP WAKE-GALLICAN CORRESPONDENCE—(1717-1719)

J. J. I. von Döllinger, in his "Re-union of the Churches"[2] wrote that "after these fruitless attempts of Bossuet, Molanus, and Leibnitz nothing further of the kind was undertaken for one hundred and seventy years, either in Germany or elsewhere." Dr. Döllinger's translator, Mr. H. N. Oxenham, realizing in part the sweeping character of the statement and its failure to indicate the facts, adds a footnote saying that "the correspondence of Archbishop Wake with the doctors of the Sorbonne early in the eighteenth century had a similar aim, though it led to no results."[3]

While Döllinger, being unacquainted with the union movements of the one hundred and seventy years following Leibnitz, was mistaken in designating that period as fruitless with regard to union movements, Mr. Oxenham was likewise mistaken in that he not only overlooks several important union movements in the years under consideration, but he fails to appreciate the fact that the correspondence of Archbishop Wake with the doctors of the Sorbonne did not wholly come to naught.

It is a mistake to adjudge any union movement as coming to naught just because it did not result in a concrete re-union of two or more denominations within the lifetime of the principals of the movement. Christian re-union can only come as a result of a compelling tidal momentum built up by waves and eddies that have had their beginnings on a thousand shores. The Wake correspondence had century-long antecedents, and has had centuries-long consequences, with a positive value difficult to estimate adequately.

Archbishop William Wake was born in Blandford, Dorset, England, January 26, 1656. Chosen as preacher at Gray's Inn in 1688, and having been made Bishop of London in 1703, he was translated to Canterbury in 1715.[4] While Chaplain of the English Ambassador at

[1] Dr. John Mason Neale, *The History of the Jansenist Church of Holland*, pp. 269–271.

[2] J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Re-union of the Churches*, translated by H. N. Oxenham. Rivingtons, London, 1872. p. 100.

[3] *Idem*, p. 100, footnote.

[4] See "William Wake," *Dictionary of National Biography*, London.

Paris in 1682, he formed the acquaintance of numerous French clerical leaders, and came to understand the principles and teachings of the French Gallicans. Having read Bossuet's *Exposition de la Foi Catholique*, he referred to the same in his preface to his own work, *The Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*, written in 1686.

At the time when Wake became Archbishop of Canterbury, the Rev. William Beauvoir, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, was the Chaplain to the English Ambassador, Lord Stair, at the French Court in the post previously held by Wake himself. Letters passed between them. Beauvoir made friends with the leaders of the Gallican Church, Dupin, De Girardin, and others. In 1713, as we have previously stated, the Pope issued the Bull *Unigenitus*, directed especially against the Gallicans and designed to stamp out nationality, as such, in the Roman Church, and to bring in rigid uniformity in doctrine and polity.

On February 14, 1717 (O.S.), Archbishop Wake wrote the following letter to Beauvoir, through whom, the letter indicates, Dr. Dupin had already communicated with the Archbishop, asking that they correspond relative to re union. This letter[1] is the earliest one which has been preserved in that noted correspondence. It reads:

" Reverend S^{r}.

W^{n} I received the favour of yours wth that of D^{r} du Pin enclosed, I was confined to my chamber wth a painful distemper, w^{ch} bringing a fever along with it, has very much broke my spirits, and made me altogether unfit hitherto for businesse. But that I may not seem to neglect such a friendly invitation, as that D^{r} made me, to a future Correspondence, I have by the enclosed answered it rather as I was able under my present circumstances, than as I could otherwise have wish'd to do. The D^{r} mentions one volume already publish'd of Prot. writers criticized by him, to the year 1600 : and of another ready to come out : I must get them as soon as he has finished what he designs in that Argt. Pray make my compliments and excuses to the D^{r} : and assure him that whatever else He may exceed me in, He shall not do it in a true regard for his person, nor in a Hearty Zeal for the peace and unity of the Ch. of Xt.

The Ch. of England as a National Ch. has all that power wthin herself over her own Members w^{ch} is necessary to enable her to settle her doctrine government, and discipline according to the will of Xt. and the Edification of her members. We have no con-

[1] Dr. J. L. von Mosheim (*An Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern*, J. L. Mosheim, translated by Archibald Maclaine, New Edition, 6 vols., London, 1811, Vol. VI, Appendix IV, pp. 141–3, 173), and Mr. J. H. Lupton (*Archbishop Wake and the Project of Re-union*, London, 1896, p. 48 *ff.*), both make a mistake as to the beginning of the correspondence. Mosheim says that it began with the letter of Wake to Beauvoir on Nov. 28th, 1717 ; Lupton agrees with this, though he says that Dupin had written Beauvoir, April 8th, 1717. Lupton quotes the above letter, but places it New Style, Feb. 14th, 1718. To have been accurate in placing all the letters in their proper order chronologically, he should have changed every date to the New Style, not just the date of this one letter.

cern for other Xtian Chs. more than that of Charity, and to keep up the Unity of the Catholic Ch. in the Communion of Sts. The Ch. of France, if it will once in good earnest throw off the Pope's pretensions, has the same light, and independence. She may establish a different worship, discipline, etc. And in some points continue to differ from us in doctrine, too, and yet maintain a true communion with us ; so long as there is nothing either in Her Worship, or ours, to hinder the members of each Ch. to communicate w^th^ the other, as they have opportunity. I make no doubt but that a plan might be framed to bring the Gallican Ch. to such a State, that we might each hold a true Catholic Unity, and Communion w^th^ one Another, and yet each continue in many things to differ : as we see the Prot. Chs. do : Nay, as both among them, and us, many Learned men do differ in several very considerable points from each other. To frame a common Confession of faith or Liturgie, or Discipline for both Chs. is a project never to be accomplished. But to settle each so, as that the other shall declare it to be a sound part of the Cath. Ch. and communicate wth one another as such ; this may easily be done, w^th^out much difficulty by them abroad and I make no doubt but the Best and Wisest of our Ch. would be ready to give all due encouragement to it. You cannot err in encouraging them to draw a plan for themselves : But such as we may so far come into as is requisite for the ends of peace, and fellowship, and communion with one another.

I write this in haste, and not w^th^ a very clear Head : therefore I desire you to keep it only for y^r^ own Information, in answer to your question how to behave y^r^selfe on such an important occasion. If need requires I will think farther of this matter, and be ready to give my judgement, on any scheme the D^r^ shall please to communicate to me. You assure him that nothing he intrusts me with shall go any farther than He himselfe allows it to do. I am with great esteem Reverend S^r^.

You should shew the D^r^ the forms of our Consecration of Bps, Priests, and Deacons.

Your Assured Friend
W. Cant."[1]

On April 8, 1717, Beauvoir received a letter from Dupin stating that Bishop Delangle of Boulogne, Bishop Soanen of Senez, Bishop Colbert of Montpellier, and Bishop de la Broue of Mirepoix had made an appeal against the Papal Bull in which appeal the Sorbonne faculty concurred.[2]

On November 28th of the same year Archbishop Wake wrote to Beauvoir asking him about certain new editions of Chrysostom and other literary matters. In Beauvoir's reply to this letter on December 11, 1717, we find what Mosheim and Lupton have wrongly declared to have been the initiation of the correspondence as between

[1] Rev. W. Beauvoir's Correspondence, Ad. Mss. 22880, British Museum. Letter of Archbishop Wake to Beauvoir, Feb. 14th, 1717.

[2] Rev. W. Beauvoir's Correspondence, Ad. Mss. 143 B, British Museum.

Wake and the Gallicans relative to re-union. Beauvoir wrote: "They talk as if the whole kingdom was to appeal to the future general council, etc. They wish for an union with the Church of England as the most effectual means to unite all the Western Churches. Dr. du Pin desired me to give his duty to your grace, upon my telling him that I would send you an *arrêt* of the Parliament of Paris relating to him and a small tract of his."[1]

It appears that in Wake's reply to Beauvoir he made courteous reference to Dupin. In response to this courtesy Dupin, on February 11, 1718, wrote expressing an ardent desire for re-union between the Gallican and Anglican Churches:[2] "Unum addam cum bona venia tua, me vehementer optare, ut unionis inter ecclesias anglicanam et gallicanam ineundae via aliqua inveniri possit. Non ita sumus ab invicem in plerisque dissiti, ut non possimus mutuo reconciliari. Atque utinam Christiani omnes essent unum ovile."[3]

Wake's letters to Dupin were also read by Cardinal de Noailles and by De Girardin. The latter delivered an oration before the Doctors of the Sorbonne, March 28, 1718, making the appeal that they should make a clear distinction between the essentials and the non-essentials of faith, and declaring that not all Papal decisions should be regarded as articles of Faith. In a letter of April 15, 1718, Wake indicates to Beauvoir that he does not believe that either the Cardinal or the Regent would have the courage to break from Rome. In the summer of 1718 Dupin formulated a tentative scheme for dealing with the whole situation.[4]

We come now to the most interesting phase of all these negotiations, namely, Dr. Dupin's general summary of all the problems involved, including his comments on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. He stated that the problems between the two Churches might be placed under three heads: (1) Articles of Faith; (2) Rules and Ceremonies of ecclesiastical Discipline; (3) Moral Doctrine or rules of practice.[5]

Taking the Thirty-nine Articles in order, he dealt with them as follows:

Articles I-V: "Of Faith in the Holy Trinity"; "Of the Word or son of God which was made very Man"; "Of the going down of Christ into Hell"; "Of the Resurrection of Christ"; and "Of the Holy Ghost," are approved.

Article VI: "Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation." This he readily grants, provided you do not entirely exclude Tradition which does not exhibit new articles of faith but confirms and illustrates those which are contained in the Sacred Writings, and places new guards to defend them against gainsayers. The Apocryphal Books will not occasion much difficulty. Personally he is willing that they be called Deutero-canonical.

Articles VII-IX: "Of Names and Number of the Canonical

[1] Rev. W. Beauvoir's Correspondence, Ad. Mss. 22880, *op. cit.*, British Museum.
[2] Mosheim, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, Appendix IV, p. 174.
[3] Lupton, *op. cit.*, p. 49; also Mosheim, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, Appendix IV, p. 146.
[4] Lupton, *idem*, pp. 49–51.
[5] See Mosheim, *op. cit.*, p. 151 *ff.*

Books," "Of the Three Creeds"; "Of Original or Birth-Sin," are approved.

Article X: "Of Free-Will." He consents to this, provided by the word "power" is understood what divines call *potentia proxima*, or a direct and immediate power.

Article XI: "Of the Justification of Man." He says that they do not deny that it is by faith alone that we are justified, but they maintain that faith, charity, and good works are necessary to salvation, this being acknowledged in

Article XII: "Of Good Works."

Article XIII: "Of Works before Justification," is approved.

Article XIV: "Of Works of Supererogation." Dr. Dupin observes "that works of supererogation mean only works conducive to salvation, which are not matters of strict precept but of counsel only; that the word, being new, may be rejected, provided it be owned that the faithful do some such works."[1]

Articles XV,XVI,XVII,XVIII: "Of Christ alone without Sin"; "Of Sin after Baptism"; "Of Predestination and Election"; "Of obtaining eternal Salvation only by means of Christ"; to these no objection was raised.

Article XIX: "Of the Church." Dupin observes that "under lawful pastors" ought to be added. Though all Churches may err, even that at Rome, he thinks that it is needless to say that this is a confession of faith. (The erring Churches mentioned in the Article are Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome.)

Article XX: "Of the Authority of the Church." To this he gives assent, but it must be understood that the Church (which is here refused the power to ordain anything contrary to the word of God), will never be governed thereby in matters which overturn essential points of faith (*quae fidei substantiam evertant*).

Article XXI: "Of the Authority of General Councils." Dupin remarks that General Councils cannot err; and that, though particular Councils may, yet every private man has not a right to reject what he thinks contrary to Scripture.

Article XXII: "Of Purgatory." Here Dupin explains about purgatory, indulgences, the supposed worship of the cross, etc. Dr. Archibald Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim, says that here "the doctor endeavours to mince matters as nicely as he can, to see if he can make the cable pass through the eye of a needle."

Articles XXIII, XXIV: "Of Ministering in the Congregation"; "Of speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the people understandeth," are both approved.

Article XXV: "Of the Sacraments." He insists that all the Roman Sacraments be acknowledged as such, whether or not they were initiated immediately by Christ.

Articles XXVI, XXVII: "Of the Unworthiness of Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacrament;" "Of Baptism," are both approved.

Article XXVIII: "Of the Lord's Supper." He is willing to omit

[1] Mosheim, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

the term " trans-substantiation " entirely. He believes " that the bread and wine are really changed into the body and blood of Christ, which last are truly and really received by all, though none but the faithful partake of any benefit from them." The foregoing applies also to

Article XXIX : " Of the Wicked which do not eat the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper."

Article XXX : " Of Both Kinds." He argues for mutual toleration and holds that the receiving of communion in both kinds should be regarded as indifferent.

Article XXXI : " Of the Oblation of Christ furnished upon the Cross." According to Dupin, the sacrifice of Christ is not only commemorated but continued in the Eucharist.

Article XXXII : " Of the Marriage of Priests." Dupin is not a stickler for celibacy of the clergy, but he would allow priests to marry when the laws of the Church do not prohibit.

Articles XXXIII, XXXIV : " Of excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided," and " Of the Traditions of the Church " are accepted without condition.

Article XXXV : " Homilies." He suspends judgment, as he has never read the homilies mentioned.

Article XXXVI : " Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers." He would pronounce the English ordinations null, although they are probably so in certain instances according to his judgment. If a union should be consummated, the English clergy should be continued in their offices and benefices either by right or by indulgences (*sive ex jure, sive ex indulgentia ecclesiae*).

Article XXXVII : " Of the Civil Magistrates." This he admits in so far as it relates to civil power. He denies all temporal and all immediate spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope ; but alleges that, because of his primacy which even moderate Church of England men admit, he is bound to take care that the true faith be upheld ; that the canons be observed universally. With respect to the remainder of this Article, he holds that every Church should have its own liberties and privileges.

Articles XXXVIII, XXXIX : " Of Christian men's Goods, which are not common " ; " Of a Christian man's oath," are both approved.

Strange to relate, Dr. Dupin advocated that the union between the English and the French Churches ought to be accepted without consultation with the Pope. Let him be told afterwards. Should he then cause trouble, they would appeal to a general council. The re-union should first be discussed by the few, then by the bishops, then by the civil powers.

On August 30, 1718, Archbishop Wake received the foregoing " Commonitorium " from Dupin. He replied soon thereafter that he had little hope for re-union ; that his was a difficult position ; that he, as the Archbishop of Canterbury, could not treat further ; that the Cardinal de Noailles, if in earnest, ought to treat with him directly ; and that with the Doctor's " Commonitorium " he would " never comply." " The matter must be put into another method ; and,

whatever they think, they must alter some of their doctrines, and practices too, or a union with them can never be effected."[1]

The Papal Bull, " Pastoralis Officii," promulgated August 28, 1718, gave a new turn to the negotiations. The Bull pronounced that all who had not yielded to the Constitution " Unigenitus " were no longer worthy to be called children of the Church. Cardinal de Noailles, hitherto protesting in more or less secrecy, now protested openly against that Bull. Archbishop Wake saw in the situation what appeared to be an opportune time to arouse the Gallicans to open opposition and a definite break with Rome, coupled with union with his own Church. Referring to the " Commonitorium," he declared that it was encouraging to find that Dupin did not believe their differences to be insuperable. If only a way could be found for conference, officially authorized, an honourable agreement might be reached : so wrote Wake to Dupin and to De Girardin on October 8, 1718. To the latter he advocated rejection of the Pope's authority, saying that Clement XI.'s assertion that they were separate should be taken at its face value. He congratulated the French Gallicans upon their leader, Cardinal de Noailles.

In a letter to Wake on October 22, 1718, Beauvoir indicated that the Sorbonne professors were honoured by his epistles, and that they were " extremely satisfied with the account of the succession of the English Bishops." In a similar letter of November 5, 1718, Beauvoir wrote : " Your Grace's vindication of the succession of the Bishops of the Church of England is allowed by the Doctors satisfactory." Wake took care to assure the Cardinal that he would not lose, should he break with Rome. In the postscript of a letter to Beauvoir he wrote, on December 2, 1718 (O.S.) : " Did Cardinal de Noailles know by what authority the Archbishop of Canterbury has gotten by the Reformation, and how much greater a man he is now than when he was the Pope's *Legatus natus*, it might encourage him to follow so good a pattern, and be assured, in that case, he would lose nothing by sending his cardinal's cap to Rome. I doubt your Doctors know little of these matters."[2]

On February 10, 1719, all the papers in the possession of Dr. Dupin were seized by the French Government. Dupin himself died on June 6, 1719. His successor, Dr. Petitpied, who was inclined toward union, made no effort to pursue Dupin's policy. De Girardin wrote March 23, 1720, to notify Archbishop Wake of the fact that Cardinal de Noailles had capitulated by signing a qualified acceptance of the " Unigenitus."

PIERRE FRANÇOIS LE COURAYER (1681-1776) AND THE VALIDITY OF THE ANGLICAN ORDERS

An exceedingly interesting and likewise an important corollary of the Wake-Gallican correspondence was in the career of Pierre François

[1] J. H. Lupton, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–59.
[2] See J. H. Lupton, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–83.

Le Courayer, born at Rouen, November 17, 1681, where his father was president of a Court of Justice. He became a presbyter, and finally librarian of the fraternity of St. Geneviève in 1711. In 1714, he joined himself to those who were appealing against the Bull, "Unigenitus," but his action was because of his interest in justice and not because he himself favoured the Jansenist cause against which the Bull was directed. He very keenly interested himself in the correspondence between Dupin, de Girardin, and Archbishop Wake. This gave Courayer considerable information as to the teachings and attitude of the Anglican Church. It was at this time that he began the friendship with Wake with whose help, and by means of correspondence, he studied the question of the validity of Anglican Orders. In 1720 the Abbé Renaudot, a noted Orientalist, published a memoir on Anglican Orders in a book sent forth by Abbé Gould in that year, under the title *The True Faith of the Catholic Church*. This book was so full of errors that Courayer felt compelled to give a more accurate account. "The thing in question," he wrote, "is no less than to know whether the Church of England, formerly so illustrious, and even now so respectable, for the enlightenment of her prelates and the condition of her clergy, is without a succession, without a hierarchy and without a minister."[1]

When, on October 1, 1721, his *English Ordinations*[2] received Approbation from the Roman Catholic censor, M.D'Arnaudin whom Courayer himself had been allowed to choose, he found publication prevented for two years because the necessary Privilege was not granted, the Jesuits being the objectors. During the delay, Archbishop Wake furnished him with much additional original matter of importance relative to English ordinations.

Certain friends intervened at this juncture, stole the manuscripts, and had them published at Nancy, France, the author's name being omitted and merely the name of Simon t'Serstevens, a Brussels Bookseller, appearing on the cover. This book was attacked by the "Journalists of Trevoux," (Jesuits), in the numbers of their publication for November, 1723, and March, 1724; in two anonymous letters by Abbé Gervaise; in the two-volume work by Father Hardouin, a Jesuit; by Father Michel Le Quien in the ablest attack of all, (two volumes, 12 mo, Paris 1725); and by the letter of a Benedictine, Pierre Le Blanc of Clugny. To all these Courayer published a Reply at the end of 1726. Approbation having been again refused, only the name of the Brussels Publisher appeared on the title-page.

On August 28, 1727, Oxford University conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him *in absentia*. The agitation against him, both by the Jesuits and the Jansenists, became so hostile that he was obliged to flee for his life. Some time in January, 1728, he

[1] See Courayer, Pierre François le (1681–1776), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XII.

[2] *A Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English, and of the Succession of the Bishops of the Anglican Church with the Proofs Establishing the Facts.* Father Le Courayer, translated by D. Williams and revised about 1844. Oxford Press, London, 1844. See also Mosheim, *op. cit.*, Appendix III, pp. 146–168. Also *The Biographia Britannica*, art. "Wake."

escaped from France to England, via Calais and Greenwich. At Greenwich Lord Viscount Perceval met him with his coach and six, and the following day had him as his dinner guest at the Lambeth Palace. For the remaining forty-eight years of his life he lived rather sumptuously in England, receiving a generous pension, the adulation and hospitality of many high in social circles, and finally was buried in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey. Though he occasionally attended divine service in Anglican Churches, he never left the Roman Communion. For this reason, his defence of the Anglican Orders is regarded as having a greater value.[1]

Although Courayer was unique amongst the Roman Catholics in his appraisal of Anglican Orders, he was very far from defending the Anglicans against the charge of schism, or " maintaining that even such of their ministrations as were valid if performed, could therefore be performed lawfully, or were entitled, when performed, to the promise of accompanying grace."[2] His chief aim was not to prove that the Anglicans should continue Anglicans, but that the validity of Anglican ordinations should theoretically be adjudged as being sufficiently satisfactory as not to warrant their being required to be re-ordained on their conversion to the Roman Church, or more particularly to the Gallican Church. In other words, he tried to provide the necessary irenics as a basis for the re-union being negotiated between Archbishop Wake and the Gallican leaders, that re-union to take the form of the absorption of the Anglican Church into the Gallican Church, the Anglican clergy not being re-ordained.

The undiscerning will say that all of the negotiations of this first quarter of the eighteenth century came to naught. While no union resulted because of the negotiations between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Sorbonne Faculty, many lessons were learned for the guidance of all friends of Christian re-union. Those lessons appear so plainly in the narrative of the historical facts that to point them out would only be to court ill-feeling. Someone has said that the best way to promote peace is to refrain from saying mean things about one another, so we will refrain. Let the lessons be well learned.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE REFORMED CHURCHES

We shall now consider historically and critically the attitude of the Church of England toward other Reformed Churches. Our studies must begin with the Anglican attitude toward those Churches from the time of the break of the Church of England, under Henry VIII., with Rome, otherwise the relation which prevailed following the Treaty of Westphalia will have much less meaning.

In Lathbury's *History of the English Episcopacy* we read : " The English Reformers did not contend for any system of government or discipline in the Church, as being *jure divino* ; things, in-

[1] Courayer, *A Dissertation*, etc., *op. cit.*, Introduction.
[2] *Idem*, Introduction.

different, as ceremonies and clerical habits were left to the civil magistrates. Nor did they refuse to recognize the validity of ordination in those foreign churches that had renounced episcopacy . . . . The reformers were agreed in the reign of Elizabeth that no precise form was laid down in the New Testament, but when the Puritans were divided into parties, the Presbyterian party advocated the divine right of their system. Cranmer and all the Reformers asserted that the form of government was for the civil magistrate to determine, according to times and circumstances."[1]

In the thirteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth an Act[2] was passed by which the Orders of the Reformed Continental Churches were implied as being valid, and any of their ministers might enjoy preferment in the English Church on receiving licence from a bishop.[3] The records indicate that there were many having received ordination abroad who, provided they conformed, were permitted to be ministers in the Church of England. This was true of Travers, Whittingham, Cartwright, Peter Martyr (appointed to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford by Cranmer), Martin Bucer (appointed by Cranmer to the Regius Professorship at Cambridge), and many others.[4]

In 1548, in the reign of Edward VI., Archbishop Cranmer sought to bring about a union of all the Reformed Churches. He made proposals to Bullinger, Calvin and Melanchthon that a synod of the leading clergy of the Communions concerned should be convened in England for the purpose of drawing up a common Confession of Faith. These proposals were warmly indorsed, but the death of Edward VI. prevented their realization. It was that monarch who gave Letters Patent to the High Germans, to Italians, Walloons, to the French, and to the Low German congregation under John A'Lasco, giving these various groups permission to have in London churches wherein they might worship in their own way.

In 1563, the English Church Convocation voted a subsidy to Queen Elizabeth as an aid to give military protection to Protestants in Normandy, these Protestants being referred to as " the professors of God's holy Gospel and true religion."[5]

Archbishop Whitgift, who referred to Beza as his " Most dear brother in Christ," had the following to say with regard to church government : " That any one kind of government is so necessary that . . . . it might not be altered into some other kind of government thought to be more expedient, I utterly deny . . . . I find no one certain

[1] Lathbury, *History of the English Episcopacy*, pp. 19, 63, 170.

[2] " An Act to refourme certayne Dysorders touching Ministers of the Church." See *Statutes of the Realm*, p. 546, 13 Eliz., Cap. 12. Not re-ordination, but subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, was required. *Cf.* Strype's *Annals*, p. 524.

[3] Strype's *Annals*, p. 524.

[4] Bishop Hall, *Defence of the Humble Remonstrance*. See XIV, where Bishop Hall states : " I know those, more than one, that by virtue of that ordination which they have brought with them from the other reformed churches have enjoyed spiritual promotions and livings without any exception against the lawfulness of their calling." Cited by Dr. A. J. Mason, *The Church of England and the Episcopacy*, Appendix A, p. 507.

[5] W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D., Prof. of O.T. Literature, Wycliffe College, Toronto, " The Church of England in Relation to Other Reformed Churches," in *The Constructive Quarterly*, Vol. II, Sept., 1914.

and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ."[1]

Richard Hooker, who, according to Keble[2] " had his full share in training up for the next generation Laud, Hammond, Sanderson " and others to whom we owe " that the Anglican Church continues at such distance from that of Geneva, and so near to primitive truth and apostolic order," wrote that " there may be sometimes a bishop . . . . . Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted into spiritual functions in the Church " : (1) " When God himself doth of himself raise up any " he doth ratify their calling by manifest signs and tokens himself from heaven, (2) " when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep : there the Church must needs have sons ordained, and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain. In case of such necessity, the ordinary institution of God hath given often time, and may give, place . . These cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain but only bishops."

Of the above Keble wrote : " It is very manifest that the concession itself was inserted to meet the case of the foreign Protestants . . . . This was one of the instances in which unquestionably Hooker might feel himself biased by his respect for existing authority. For, nearly up to the time when he wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church in England, with no better than Presbyterian ordination, and it appears by Travers' Supplication to the Council, that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in England."[3]

Concerning the construction placed upon the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, especially in connection with the case of Walter Travers (1546-1635), there are different viewpoints.[4] When Alvey, the Master of the Temple in London, was on his deathbed in 1583, he recommended Travers, who was already the afternoon lecturer and who had previously deliberately left England and sought for Presbyterian ordination on the Continent, never having been episcopally ordained, as his successor. The benchers of the Temple especially asked for him, but Archbishop Whitgift insisted that Travers must be re-ordained. Travers refused on the grounds that to submit to re-ordination would invalidate all of the marriages and baptisms at which he had officiated, and would tacitly deny the validity of all the ordinations in the Continental Reformed Churches. In Travers' appeal, he made reference to the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth. Keble, according to what has been quoted above, not only states

[1] W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D., *op. cit.*

[2] *The Works of Richard Hooker.* A new edition, with Additions arranged by the Rev. John Keble, M.A. 3 vols., Oxford Univ. Press, 1836. See Vol. III, Part I, pp. 284-286. Also Book VII, ch. xiv, 11. Also Keble's Preface, Vol. I, civ, lxxvi, and lix.

[3] Keble, *op. cit.*, Preface, Vol. I, p. lxxvi.

[4] J. A. Mason, *op. cit.* See p. 116 *ff.*

that up to the time Hooker wrote his Ecclesiastical Polity there had been many admitted to the ministry of the Church of England with no better than Presbyterian orders, but that Travers put no uncommon construction on the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth when he used it as a basis for his Supplication to the Council.[1]

It is interesting to record here that Travers remained the afternoon lecturer at the Temple Church until he was prohibited in 1586. His successful rival for the position was Richard Hooker himself, who saw to it that the Temple audiences received pure Canterbury in the forenoon, while Travers, the more popular of the two, brought pure Geneva to the increasingly larger congregations in the afternoon. It was Archbishop Whitgift who finally silenced Travers. During that process, Travers made his appeal, or Supplication, to the Council, to which reference has already been made. In his appeal, Travers charged Hooker with heresy. The problems and principles involved in this controversy led Hooker to write what was to be a masterpiece, his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, of 1594. It has already been indicated that the essence of Hooker's conclusions in this work is that episcopal ordination is neither *jure divino* nor of the *esse* of the Church, but that it may be said to be of the *bene esse* which, under certain circumstances, may be omitted.

We have noted that Keble, whose Assize sermon, "National Apostasy," according to Newman, marked the beginning of the Oxford Movement in 1833, considered Hooker as the one who helped to keep Canterbury apart from Geneva, and that in this work he prepared the way for Archbishop Laud and others of the Restoration period. Dr. Yngve Brilioth, the brilliant son-in-law of His Grace, Archbishop Soderblom of Upsala, has made a very careful study of the antecedents of the Oxford Movement (1833-1845), as well as its leading tendencies, in his book, *The Anglican Revival.*[2] He states that the Restoration shows a narrower Anglicanism than that of Hooker or even of Laud. Hooker identified the National Church with the State, but he did not fence off the English Established Church from fruitful relations with the Reformed Churches abroad. Under Laud and others, divine right for king and bishop took the place of constitutional rule. Gradually there emerged a definite type of Anglican piety. Its characteristic feature was humanistic theology with an increasingly stronger leaning to the Church of the Greek Fathers, and to an ascetic ideal of holiness. Dr. Brilioth would have been more correct if he had said that from the Oxford Movement onward the leaning was toward the Fathers of the first centuries, especially toward Ignatius and Cyprian.

Dr. Brilioth writes that this Movement, "at least in the beginning, is in its essence Anglican .... The most essential feature in its character is precisely that it brought to more extensive predominance within its Church the Anglicanism in the narrower sense, which takes the conception of the Church from Laud, and its piety from the Fathers

[1] Keble, *op. cit.*, Preface, Vol. I, p. lxxvi.

[2] Rev. Yngve Brilioth, D.Phil., *The Anglican Revival—Studies in the Oxford Movement.* Preface by the Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. A. C. Headlam, pp. 1–5.

of the Restoration . . . . The historian who ventures the attempt to follow its course into our own day must find his most delicate task in seeking where the Anglican ends and where the pure Latin begins."[1] Here Dr. Brilioth adds a footnote, in which he states that Dean W. R. Inge[2] sees in the extreme High Church to-day a purely Latin movement.

It should be noted here that the relations of the Anglican and the Reformed Churches, both before and after Hooker, have a distinct bearing upon the whole problem of Christian re-union in this present day. Let us proceed to our study of the various instances that seem to indicate that the Church of England has shown great cordiality, in the spirit of unity, in her relation to the Reformed Churches of the Continent and elsewhere.

Peter Du Moulin, of the French Reformed Church, wrote early in the seventeenth century, saying, " We assemble with the Englishmen in their churches, we participate together in the Holy Supper of our Lord, the doctrine of their Confessions is most agreeable unto ours."[3]

The early Commentaries on the Articles indicate a very close relation with the Protestant Churches on the Continent. The first Commentary, written by Rogers, Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, and published in 1607, makes reference to other Communions by such phrases as : " Hereunto do the Churches of God subscribe . . . . . So testify with us the true Churches elsewhere in the world."[4] Not long after, Bishop Burnet wrote : " We are very sure that not only those who penned the Articles, but the Body of this Church, for about half an age after, did notwithstanding those irregularities acknowledge the foreign Churches so constituted to be true Churches as to all the essentials of a Church."[5]

Archbishop Sandys of York, in a letter to Lord Burghley relative to the ordination of Dean Whittingham, was careful to state that he did not deny the validity of the Orders of the Reformed Churches of the Continent.[6] According to Canon 55 of 1603-1604, the English clergy are required to pray for the Church of Scotland as a part of Christ's Holy Catholic Church. At that time the Scottish bishops had never been episcopally consecrated. Not until 1610 was episcopacy even partially restored to Scotland,[7] but from 1552-1662 the Church of England was open to ministers from Scottish and other foreign Churches. Bishop Fleetwood, in speaking of the practice of the English Church up to 1661, says : " We had many ministers from Scotland, from France, and the Low Countries, which were ordained by presbyters only and not by bishops, and they were instituted into benefices with cure, and yet were never re-ordained, but only subscribed to the Articles."[8]

[1] Rev. Yngve Brilioth, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[2] W. E. Inge, *Outspoken Essays*, London, 1919, p. 31.
[3] Griffith Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 608.
[4] *Idem*, p. 608.
[5] *Idem*, pp. 608–609.
[6] Strype's *Annals*, II, ii, 620.
[7] Text, 40–43.
[8] W. H. Griffith Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 611, *ff.*

Archbishop Ussher, who believed bishops to be necessary for regularity in Church government, nevertheless wrote, "for the testifying my Communion with these Churches (which I do love and honour as true members of the Church Universal), I do profess that with like affection I should receive the blessed sacrament at the hands of Dutch ministers if I were in Holland, as I should at the hands of the French ministers if I were in Charentome."[1]

The Bishop of Gloucester acknowledges the truth of the foregoing general contentions, indicating that the admission to benefices of those ordained in Reformed Churches might have been held to be in harmony with Article XXIII and "was not perhaps especially forbidden in the Ordinal."[2] He points out that the deprivation of those in Presbyterian Orders from the right of holding English benefices was due to the result of the reaction against the Commonwealth, thus accounting for the changes in the Prayer Book of 1661. In this present time would it not be both regular and wise to ask that all the divisions of Christendom remove every token of exclusiveness caused by excessive reactions?

The *New Englander* (Vol. XXXIII, January 1874) contains an editorial article dealing with the relation of the Church of England to other Reformed Churches, and in it the following conclusions are regarded as facts established by the ecclesiastical history of England:

"1. The first and second generation of English Reformers, Cranmer and his associates, Jewel and his contemporaries, did not hold the *jure divino*, or exclusive, theory of the Episcopacy.

"2. The Church of England in the 16th Century was in full communion with the other Protestant Churches of Europe.[3]

"3. The greatest divines in the Church of England in the 17th Century agreed with Hooker in acknowledging the validity of Presbyterian ordination and in the recognition of the foreign Protestant Churches. This was true of Ussher, Hall, Stillingfleet, and others of hardly less distinction.

"4. The fellowship with the foreign Churches on the part of the English Reformers was not owing to forbearance in them but to the common opinion that each nation, or Church, could shape its own polity, and that Episcopacy might be adopted or rejected as each Church or nation should see fit to determine.

"5. Notwithstanding the changes in the Prayer Book and in the law of England at the Restoration, the Church of England has never, by law or synodal action, discredited the validity of the ordination practised in other bodies."

As has been said before, Archbishops Bancroft and Laud are generally credited with being the ones who first advocated and also

[1] W. H. Griffith Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

[2] A. C. Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church and Re-union*, pp. 254–255, with footnote, in Second Edition, 1920. London, John Murray.

[3] Neither the facts and arguments set forth in the article, nor the facts of history, substantiate the assertion that they were "in full communion." "Partial" would be the more accurate term. The other conclusions seem to be well warranted.

crystallized the policy that there can be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops. In 1604, Dr. Holland, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford is said to have administered a public rebuke to Laud, terming him "a seditious person who would unchurch the foreign Protestant Churches beyond the seas and sow division between us and them who are brethren, by this novel Popish position."[1] It was in 1643 that Laud succeeded in revising the wording of Letters Patent so as to differentiate between Episcopal and non-Episcopal Churches. With the advent of Laud, however, the presence of clergymen of the English Church favourable to more or less of intercommunion with the Reformed Churches, and the recognition of the validity of their Orders, did not wholly cease. In 1702, Archbishop Sharp of York stated that if he were abroad he would willingly communicate with the Protestant Churches where he should happen to be.[2] In 1707, Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, said that he "thought the narrow notions of all Churches had been their ruin and he believed the Church of Scotland to be as true a Protestant Church as the Church of England, though he could not say that it was as perfect."[3]

From 1715-1737, Archbishop Wake was in close and regular communication with the Reformed Churches of the Continent. In a letter written April, 1719, to Monsieur Le Clerc, a Swiss Pastor, he condemns the English Church writers who hold that the Protestants of the Continent have no valid or real Orders, and can scarcely be regarded as Christians. He wrote: "Interim absit ut ego tam ferrei pectoris sim, ut ob ejusmodi defectum (sic mihi absque omni invidia appellare liceat) aliquas earum a communione nostrâ abscindendas credam; aut cum quibusdam furiosis inter nos scriptoribus, eas nulla vera ac valida Sacramenta habere, adeoque vix Christianos esse pronuntiem."[4] When we think of Archbishop Wake also as one who negotiated with the Gallicans, and made friendly approaches to the Eastern Churches we realize that, from the standpoint of broad Catholicity and sincere desire for re-union by comprehension rather than by compromise, he stands amongst the very first of all the responsible leaders in such movements.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded in 1701, and soon thereafter authorized its emissaries to join with the Danish missionaries in work in India. Almost all of the earliest missionaries sent out by the S.P.G. had only Lutheran ordination.

[1] So William Prynne in his *A Breviate of the Life of William Laud*, London, 1644, p. 2. Prynne says that this rebuke took place when Laud "proceeded Bachelor in Divinitie." But in *The Works of William Laud* in the "Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology," Oxford, 1853, p. 262, "Marginal Notes on Prynne's Breviate," Laud is represented as having written in the margin this notation, "My tenet was, and is still, yt Episcopatus is Jure divino. But it was when I proceeded Dr.; and it is a notorious untruth yt Dr. Holland said any such thing." The Editor says these marginal notes are not in Laud's handwriting.

[2] W. H. Griffith Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

[3] W. H. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

[4] J. L. Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2nd edition of translation by Archibald Maclaine, London, Millar, 1768, Vol. V, Appendix iii, pp. 141, 169.

This was also true of the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society.[1]

During the period of the Commonwealth, Bishop Cosin, an exile at Charentone, France, communicated in the Reformed Church. Concerning the meaning of the Act 13 of Elizabeth mentioned above,[2] Bishop Cosin wrote : " If at any time a minister so ordained in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours and to receive a public charge with cure of souls among us in the Church of England (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance in many others before my time), our Bishops did not re-ordain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have done if his former ordination here in France had been void. Nor do our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received amongst us, and to subscribe to the Articles Established."[3]

Dean A. P. Stanley wrote, " The first English Reformers and the statesmen of Elizabeth would have been astonished at any claim of exclusive sanctity for the Episcopal order." He further stated that " it was not Knox but Andrew Melville who introduced into Scotland the divine right of Presbytery, the sister dogma of the divine right of Episcopacy, which Bancroft and Laud introduced into England."[4]

Dr. William Sanday probably gives the best summary to be found relative to the relation of the Anglican Church to the Reformed Churches. He wrote : " It should be distinctly borne in mind that the more sweeping refusal to recognize the non-episcopal Reformed Churches is not, and can never be made a doctrine of the Church of England. Too many of her representative men have not shared it. Hooker did not hold it ; Andrewes expressly disclaimed it ; Cosin freely communicated with the French Church during his exile. Indeed it is not until the last half of the 19th century that more than a relative small minority of English Churchmen have been committed to it."[5]

All the foregoing citations of instances indicating the mutual recognition between the Anglican and other Reformed Churches are not given with the idea of branding as necessarily wrong the changes brought about by Bancroft, Laud, and the Oxford Movement, but in our study of the new movements toward Christian unity, including an effort to evaluate properly the Lambeth appeals for Christian Unity, we must take cognizance of every item, past and present, in the history of the relation of the Anglican Church to the Protestant Churches.

In our consideration of the relations of the Anglican Church to the Orders and Clergy of the Reformed Churches through the centuries care has been taken to present the views of clergymen in the Church

[1] Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 3 Vols., London, C.M.S., 1899, pp. 81–83.

[2] See pp. 83–84 of text.

[3] W. H. Griffith Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[4] Dr. William Sanday, *The Conception of Priesthood*, p. 95.

[5] Carstairs, *State Papers*, pp. 739, 760 ; also Stanley's *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland* (American edition), pp. 47, 66, 67.

of England. We have considered the findings and conclusions of many Anglicans, of different periods, all of recognized authority, who held or hold that the Church of England did give the recognition of validity to the Orders of those ordained in the Reformed Churches, especially of the Continent, and that, in theory, that Church recognized the validity under certain circumstances of non-episcopal Orders, and in practice actually admitted many thus ordained to benefices and places of ministry in the English Church. Now we shall consider the view of another school of thought in the Anglican Church, leaving readers to draw their own conclusions as to where the probable truth lies.[1]

In the investigation of certain points in connection with the Kikuyu controversy, Dr. A. J. Mason, Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, who had been Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity (1895-1903) and Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge (1903-1912), and, in 1914, while Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, was encouraged to write his *The Church of England and Episcopacy*.[2] In Appendix A of this notable book, Dr. Mason attempts to answer the question, "Has the Reformed Church of England ever admitted into her Ministry Men not Episcopally Ordained?"[3]

With regard to the Act 13 Elizabeth, cap. 12, Paragraph 1, Dr. Mason argues against the view that this clause was "designed to permit persons in Presbyterian orders to qualify for ministerial office in England by subscribing to the Articles, without fresh ordination." "The intention of the Act," writes Dr. Mason, "was to exclude priests who had received orders under Mary or Henry VIII. (or in foreign countries) unless they gave proof of a cordial acceptance of the Reformation. (Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 172)." Travers quoted the Act "as applying to Roman Orders," though he suggests that it might be treated as offering a loophole for himself." Dr. Mason admits that there were those who as laymen or as presbyters were admitted to *beneficia simplicia* (sinecures), but not to *beneficia curata*, except they were admitted to preach only, or with the understanding that they were to be ordained priests within a given period. If there were irregularities or abuses, they do not imply "the deliberate consent of the Church."

Dr. Mason makes these conclusions apply to Whittingham, a layman, once Dean of Durham; to John Morrison, licensed by the Vicar General of Archbishop Grindal to preach and administer the Sacraments throughout the province of Canterbury; to Townsend who "had been instituted by his bishop, Parkhurst, of Norwich, but was ejected in 1570";[4] to Thwaites;[5] and to Walter Travers.[6] In 1585, after the Archbishop had inhibited him from being the afternoon lecturer at the Temple, Travers appealed against the

[1] See in this connection H. R. L. Sheppard's *The Impatience of a Parson*. Published by Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1927.
[2] Cambridge University Press, 1914. See Preface.
[3] *Idem*, p. 489 *ff*.
[4] A. J. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 497.
[5] *Idem*, p. 497.
[6] *Idem*, pp. 497–502.

inhibition. In this appeal he refers to the case of St. Polycarp, who was permitted to celebrate the Eucharist at Rome although he had been consecrated elsewhere. On the margin of Travers' manuscripts the Archbishop wrote his own answers to the arguments. In this case he wrote that Travers' case was " far differing from " Polycarp, since he had deliberately left England for ordination elsewhere, " misliking the order of his country." Then again, Travers affirmed that " In the Church of England many Scottish men and others, made ministers abroad, have been so acknowledged, and executed their ministry accordingly, and yet do still among us." To this Whitgift added the note : " I know none such : and yet their case is far differing from his."[1] The " their case " would seem to imply that he did know of some " such."

Dr. Mason next reviews the case of Saravia, admitted to the Canonry of Canterbury, and the one who gave the last Sacraments to Richard Hooker, holding that he must have been ordained by an English bishop, though there is no record of the same. Whitgift, who had said " I know of none such," was a contemporary and the appointer of Saravia; hence Dr. Mason draws the foregoing conclusion, nevertheless admitting that it is true that " Whitgift drew a distinction between the case of Travers and that of men born and bred in defective foreign churches."[2]

Dr. Mason goes on to cite the case of De Laune, a presbyter from the Continent, who was admitted to a benefice without re-ordination. His appointment was made by Bishop Overall. Dr. Mason concludes by admitting the fact, but observing that Bishop Overall " made a great distinction between the foreign ordination and ordination by unauthorised Englishmen."[3]

Dr. Mason then takes up certain " general statements," which have been interpreted as inferring that clergymen with only Presbyterian orders had been at various times admitted to the benefices in the English Church, such as that of Bishop Hall in his *Defence of the Humble Remonstrance*, Section XIV, and attempts to throw a qualifying interpretation upon them.

With regard to the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel using Lutheran ministers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Dr. Mason quotes Bishop Heber[4] who regarded them as " mere laymen," their priesthood not being acknowledged. Finally, in discussing the fact that in connection with the attempts to introduce episcopacy into Scotland in 1610 and 1661 no attempt was made to re-ordain the mass of the Presbyterian clergy, Dr. Mason writes, " It was, however, after all no recognition of Presbyterian Orders ; it was only a patient method of getting rid of them."[5]

A fitting close for this discussion is a reference to the recognition given to non-episcopal Orders by the special Lambeth Committee

[1] A. J. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 501.
[2] *Idem*, pp. 504–505.
[3] *Idem*, p. 506.
[4] *Life of R. Heber*, Vol. II, p. 348 *ff.*, as cited by A. J. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 436, 437, and 510.
[5] A. J. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 511.

appointed to negotiate with the representatives of the Free Churches (Free Church Federal Council), in connection with the 1920 Lambeth Appeal for Home Re-union. It should be remembered that our discussion has been almost entirely confined to Anglican relations with the clergy and Orders of the Reformed *Continental* Communions. There has always been a great distinction made in favour of the *Continental* Reformed Orders, the Orders of the Free Churches of England being considered either as irregular or else as wholly defective off-shoots from the Church of England. In the Conferences between the Lambeth and the Free Church representatives we see a dealing with those Orders which had hitherto been officially outside the field of possible recognition.

The following extract from the historic Memorandum—*Status of the existing Free Church Ministry*—issued by the Church of England Committee on July 6, 1923, has, therefore, all the more interest and value as indicating progress and giving promise that some day the chasms between the Anglicans and other English Communions will be fully bridged. After much conference, the Anglican Committee finally declared that the Free Church ministries " which imply a sincere intention to preach Christ's word and administer the Sacraments as Christ had ordained, and to which authority so to do has been solemnly given by the Church concerned, are real ministries of Christ's Work and Sacraments in the Universal Church. Yet ministries, even when so regarded, may be, in varying degrees, irregular and defective." For this reason they must insist on re-ordination after the manner of the " historic Episcopate." So much for the relation of the English Church to the ministries of the dissenting Free Churches of England. As for the Continental Reformed Churches, intercommunion has now been fully established with the Swedish Lutheran Church, and negotiations, more or less informal, are pending with other of the Reformed Churches such as the Unitas Fratrum, the Scandinavian Lutheran, the Old Catholics, and any other groups which have a tendency to emphasize three Orders in the Ministry, namely, bishops, priests, and deacons, coupled with due reverence for the Christian Church of the first seven centuries.[1]

THE ANGLICAN AND EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

The Anglicans and Eastern Orthodox Churches have a special tie in that on March 26, 668 Pope Vitalian, Bishop of Rome, before the schism between the East and West, consecrated Theodore of Tarsus Archbishop of Canterbury.[2] In 1438, King Henry VI. sent

[1] See Chart of the Lambeth Conferences, pp. 323 *ff.* in text. For further study of the topics treated in the foregoing discussion of the relation to the Anglican Church to the Reformed Churches, see Hallam's *Constitutional History* (Harper's Am. edition), p. 226 ; *Annals of the Reformation*, ii, 522, and Appendix 116 ; *Life of Grindal*, p. 271 ; Collier, ii, 594 ; Neal, i, 258 ; and H. A. Wilson, *Episcopacy and Unity*, London, 1912, Longmans Green & Co. Dr. Wilson has been President of the Cheltenham Congresses, and is one of the acknowledged leaders of the Evangelicals in the Church of England.

[2] *Occasional Papers of the Eastern Church Association*, 1866, p. 21.

special representatives to Italy bearing expressions of the most hearty encouragement and welcome to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Eastern Emperor as they took part in the Ferrara-Florence Council.[1] The King, together with other prominent English leaders, indicated great pleasure at the conclusion of that Council, which was supposed to have accomplished the re-union of the Orthodox and Rome.

In the Articles of Edward VI., retained to this day, (Art. XIX), there is a condemnation made against all the Patriarchates except Constantinople. This condemnation has embarrassed negotiations with the Orthodox in all the years since its insertion. George Williams states that the critically important words *ab aeterno* omitted from the Vth of Elizabeth, while all the rest of the Würtemberg profession concerning the Holy Spirit was adopted in the Article, indicates that there must have been an intentional reference to the great controversy between the East and the West.[2]

In the litany arranged by Archbishop Cranmer in 1544, and included in the first book of Edward VI. in 1549, is to be found "A prayer of St. Chrysostom," the only instance in the Prayer Book except the Lord's prayer that has the name of the author attached. What is regarded as the first exchange of courtesies between the Anglican and Eastern Churches was made in the lifetime of Bishop Andrews, this being the correspondence between Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople,[3] and Bishop Abbot. The only tangible result of this correspondence was the sending of a young Greek named Metrophanes Critopulus to the University of Oxford for education.[4] It is supposed that this young man later became the Patriarch of Alexandria, although that supposition is doubted by some authorities.[5]

At the time of the Commonwealth, Dr. Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, twice received invitations from the Greek Metropolitan of Achaia who asked him to preach before his suffragans and clergy. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch received Dr. Basire most graciously. Paisius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who wished to express his "desire of Communion with our old Church of England," presented Dr. Basire his patriarchal seal in blank as a token of trust, also extending many other courtesies. Dr. Basire circulated widely a Romaic translation of the Catechism which he said accomplished great "success in spreading amongst the Greeks the Catholic doctrine of our Church."[6]

[1] See p. 27 of text.

[2] Rev. George Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century*. Introduction, V. 1864.

[3] See p. 44 *ff.* for further details concerning Cyril Lucar's activities connected with the Anglican Church.

[4] See Abbot, *Letters of Sir Thomas Rowe*; also cited by Dr. Neale in his *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, Alexandria, Vol. II, p. 386–387, as cited by George Williams, *op. cit.*, Introduction, VII–VIII.

[5] See Orien's *Christianus*, Vol. II, col. 509, as cited by George Williams, *op. cit.*, Introduction IX.

[6] W. N. Darnell, *The Correspondence of Isaac Basire . . . with a Memoir of his Life*. London, Murray, 1831, p. 115. In the Appendix, p. 33, is a copy of the permit from the Latin Church in which he is designated "Sacerdotem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, S.S. Theol. Doctorem." See also George Williams, *op. cit.*, IX–XII.

Official intercourse with the Orthodox Church of the East was resumed at the time of the Restoration in England. This is indicated by the Correspondence of John Covel,[1] who from 1670-1677 resided at Constantinople as Chaplain to the Ambassador, Sir Daniel Harvey, who was succeeded by Sir John Finch. As he himself admitted, it was curiosity rather than an interest in re-union which caused him to be interested in the Eastern Church.

In 1672, there came to England a "Synodical answer to the question, What are the sentiments of the Oriental Church of the Greek Orthodox? sent to the lovers of the Greek Church in Britain in the year of our Lord, 1672."[2] It is believed by Williams that Covel's residence at Constantinople accounts for this important communication from the Greeks. The basis of his belief lies in the fact that near the beginning of the Preface of John Covel's great work entitled *Some Account of the Greek Church, etc.*, which was not published until 1722, the year before Covel's death, the following appears: "In the year 1670, I was appointed and sent as Chaplain to his Excellency Sir Daniel Harvey, then Ambassador from King Charles the Second at the Ottoman Court. This caused the Rev. Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearson (then our two Publick Professors at Cambridge), Dr. Sancroft[3] and Mr. Womack and several others to importune me strictly to inquire into this matter," viz: the doctrine of the Real Presence, as held by the Greeks, "after I arrived at Constantinople."[4] The great value of this "synodical answer" received in 1672 from the Oriental Orthodox Church lies in the fact that we have not only a succinct statement of the doctrines of the Eastern Church, but we also have the bases on which they are willing to consider re-union with other Churches.

So far as Dr. Covel is concerned, his attitude toward the Greek clergy was polemical. His successor as Chaplain at the Embassy was Edward Brown, who took up his work on January 26, 1677. In a letter written by Brown we are told of a certain Greek who was converted to the Quaker faith while in England. He sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople an exposition, in Greek, of the Quaker faith, and a copy of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. What the Patriarch thought of these Articles we are not told, but he doubtless reacted as did a former Patriarch who criticized the Article XIX condemning all of the Patriarchates except Constantinople, saying that it was not becoming that the condemnation of another Church should be made an article of faith.

Just about this time there appeared two books which brought the English Church considerable information relative to the Eastern Churches. One was by Thomas Smith, the predecessor of Covel. The Latin edition of 1676, published with the special sanction of the Bishop of Oxford, had as its title, *De Graecae Ecclesiae hodierno*

[1] John Covel, *Some Account of the present Greek Church.* Cambridge, 1722.

[2] See Appendix for complete copy of this "Synodical answer." The original documents are now preserved with the Covel Correspondence manuscripts in the British Museum.

[3] Dr. Sancroft was then Dean of St. Paul's.

[4] See George Williams, *op. cit.*, XII–XIII.

Statu Epistola. The *Editio Secunda ab auctore longe auctior et emendatior*, 8 vo, was dedicated to Sir Joseph Williamson, President of the Royal Society. Two years later (1680), was published the English edition dedicated to the Bishop of London, and having as its title, *An Account of the Greek Church.* The second book dealing with the Eastern Churches was by Paul Ricaut, the English Consul at Smyrna. The title was, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches.*[1] All this information must have found lodgment in hearts that were interested in union with the East. The following incident may thus be explained.

On September 17, 1789, when the suspension and deprivation of the Non-juring bishops and clergy was taking place, and they were thereby deprived of being members of the Royal Commission on the Prayer Book, there appears in the records of that Commission[2] the following recommendation : " It is humbly submitted to the Convocation whether a Note ought not to be here added with relation to the Greek Church in order to our maintaining Catholic Communion," this annotation being appended to the words of the Nicene Creed, " Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son."

Within the two year period following August 15, 1692, when Dr. Woodruff[3] entered upon his duties as Principal of Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, Oxford, a College for the education of Greek youths was established there. Two explanations are made as to who was responsible for the promotion of the scheme, the English clergy or the Greeks. A letter of March 4, 1694 (O.S.), addressed by Dr. Woodruff to Callinicus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, indicates that the former had had the scheme in mind for a number of years, but had been delayed by " wars and tumults," (probably the Revolution of 1688).[4] Another explanation[5] has its basis in a petition[6] of Joseph, Metropolitan of Samos to Archbishop Sancroft, who is thereby informed of the miseries and misfortunes of the Greeks (due to the tyranny of the Turks), and of the untutored character of the Greeks themselves. He makes the suggestion that " twelve scholars out of Greece be constantly here[7] to be instructed and grounded in the true doctrine of the Church of England ; whereby (with the blessing of God), they may be able dispensers thereof, and so return to Greece to preach the same ; by which means your petitioner

[1] Published in London, 1679.

[2] See the Prayer Book of 1683–6 at the Lambeth Library. Suggested changes by the Royal Commissioners on the Prayer Book are written in that copy. *Cf.* George Williams, *op. cit.*, Introduction XVIII, footnote.

[3] Mr. Foulkes, " Fragmenta Varia," art. in *The Union Review*, Vol. I, pp. 490–500.

[4] Foulkes, *op. cit.*

[5] Rev. George Williams, *op. cit.*, Introduction XVIII *ff.*

[6] See at British Museum Ms. No. XXXIII, folio 57, amongst the Tanner Papers, cited by Williams, supra, Introduction XVIII.

[7] The Metropolitan of Samos was the Joseph Georgirenes who, having been expelled from his See, lived in London, where a special Church was erected for him in Soho. (The building, restored in 1850 as S. Mary's, Crown Street, Soho, has since been demolished.) For a translation of the Greek inscription placed over the door of St. Mary's see George Williams, *op. cit.*, Appendix to the Introduction, 87, lxvi.

conceives the said people may be edified." He asks Archbishop Sancroft to bring this scheme to the attention of the King and of the Bishop of London, "to the intent some yearly revenue may be allotted to carry on so pious and good a work." Mr. Williams dates this letter 1682 or 1683. As a choice between these two explanations, both are probably true, the interest of Dr. Woodruff being purely missionary, and the anxiety of the Metropolitan of Samos, then resident in London, together with his certainty that England could supply their need in both cash and education being self-explanatory. We, in our day, have come to the point where the Church that initiates a movement towards unity is the Church to be honoured, not to be apologized for.

The Bishop of London at this time was Henry Compton (1675-1714), who had previously manifested his interest in the Greek Church by permitting the English edition of Thomas Smith's book, *An Account of the Greek Church*, to be dedicated to him. In Woodruff's letter to the Ecumenical Patriarch Callinicus, he wrote "in the name of the most Godly Metropolitan of London," and others.

Finally the scheme for the Greeks in Gloucester Hall at Oxford University was inaugurated, but it was destined to be short-lived. The jealousy and indignation of the Roman Catholics had been aroused. Three Greek youths sent to Oxford for education were influenced to leave, one by promise of better accommodation to go to Paris where Louis XIV. had been persuaded by Pope Innocent XII. to establish a College for the Greeks, and the other two by an assurance of transportation back to Greece. The subsequent history of these students is interesting.[1] It appears that they received poor treatment at Oxford.[2] At all events, the Registrar of the Greek Church at Constantinople, writing to Edward Stephens on March 2, 1705, announced that the Patriarch had decided to prohibit any more Greek youths from attending Oxford University. The decision ran thus: "The irregular life of certain priests and laymen of the Eastern Church living in London, is a matter of great concern to the Church. Wherefore the Church forbids any to go and study at Oxford, be they ever so willing."[3]

While the special College for the Greeks was in existence at Oxford, the most Reverend and Honourable the Metropolitan of Philippopolis, Exarch of all Thrace and Drovogia, was given an honourary D.D. degree by both Oxford[4] and Cambridge[5] during his visit in England.

[1] Art. by E. Stephens, *The Union Review*, Vol. I, p. 498. Edward Stephens, who died in 1706, was a lawyer and pamphleteer who wrote much relative to the Roman and the Eastern Churches and their relation to the Anglican Church. Thomas Hearne, according to *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, edited by Bliss (i, 63 n. and 111, 36, 37), believed that Stephens died a member of the Greek Orthodox Church. *Dictionary of National Biography*. See also Edward Stephens, *A Vindication of Christianity for and against the Scandal of Popery*, London, 1704. Also *Missionarium*, London, 1705.

[2] Stephens, *idem*, p. 496, 564.

[3] *Idem*, pp. 499–500.

[4] See Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 519. See also Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, Tome I, col. 1162, for his oration delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, at that time.

[5] Covel's Papers, British Museum Ad. Mss. 22911, *ff.* 4–7.

His fellow travellers, Athanasius, Archdeacon; Neophitus, Archimandrite; and Gregorius, Protosyncellus, were granted M.A. degrees at Oxford. On the following day the Metropolitan's Physician was given the degree of M.D. In spite of all the above, the experiment at Oxford came to a rather discouraging close, as previously indicated, through the Patriarch's interference. Edward Stephens, however, did not despair. He was still convinced that intercommunion between the Eastern and Anglican Churches was possible of achievement. Mr. Williams[1] believes that Stephens and his friends formed the *liaison* between the Archbishop of Philippopolis and the Metropolitan Arsenius of Thebais, who was the next Greek dignitary to visit England (1716 O.S.). It was this latter Metropolitan who was the immediate cause of the famous correspondence relative to re-union between the Non-jurors and the Eastern Patriarchs, and who was throughout the intermediary.

The coming of the Metropolitan Arsenius was occasioned by a quarrel as to who should succeed Gerasimus as Patriarch of Alexandria, Samuel, Archbishop of Libya, or Cosmas, Archbishop of Mt. Sinai, who was charged with having purchased the favour of the Grand Vizier for his candidacy. Accordingly, the Church of Alexandria, being so much oppressed, sent to the Protestant Princes and States in Europe the following envoys, "to crave the assistance of good Christians":[2] Arsenius, the Metropolitan of Thebais; Gennadius (a Cypriot), Archimandrite and Kathegumenos of Alexandria, with four Deacons, an Anagnostes, a Cook and an Interpreter. Arsenius was to plead generally for the aid of the Eastern Orthodox Christians who were being so cruelly oppressed by the Turks.[3] The presence of these Eastern Orthodox representatives in England proved most embarrassing. Queen Anne offered a bounty of £200 for their departure, but they remained in a desperate state of poverty in London for many months, and even the Bishop of London was unable to persuade them to accept the Queen's offer and leave. Wanley wrote, "We do not like that the Universities should be pestered with them."[4] Arsenius and his party were very illiterate.

Archibald Campbell was the first of the Non-juring bishops to get in touch with the Metropolitan of Thebais. At a London meeting of the Non-jurors in July, 1916, Campbell, having a scheming turn for everything he thought of general usefulness to the Church, suggested that they get in touch with the Metropolitan with a view to re-union. The suggestion was adopted in spite of the fact that Bishop Lawrence, in an aside to Bishop Jolly, had warned them that the Greeks were more corrupt and bigoted than the Romanists. On August 18, 1716[5], the negotiations between the Greeks and the Non-jurors were begun by the latter.

[1] George Williams, *op. cit.*, Introduction XXVI. Stephens died in 1706.

[2] See Wanley Correspondence, British Museum, Harleian Collection, 3778–3782; also Dr. Covel's Correspondence, Ad. Mss. 22911, folio 163, pp. 319–320.

[3] Thomas Lathbury, *A History of the Non-jurors*, Pickering, London, 1845.

[4] See British Museum Ad. Mss. 2291, folio 163.

[5] George Williams, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. XXIX *ff.* See also Thomas Lathbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 309–361.

Thomas Lathbury[1] has given us a rather extended review of the correspondence between these two groups. The value of that correspondence for any investigation of the movements towards Christian unity lies chiefly in the revelations made thereby on the part of the Eastern clergy as to what they considered the primary teachings of their faith to be at that particular time, and as to the terms on which they would consider negotiations looking toward union with the Anglican Church. The following review of the correspondence indicates the revealed consensus and dissensus between the two Churches.

The Non-jurors[2] first sent twelve "Proposals for a Concordate," accompanied by twelve statements of doctrine and polity on which they agree, and five points wherein they cannot agree with the Eastern Orthodox, presuming, of course, that they understand the teachings of the Eastern Churches upon all the themes considered. If the "Concordate" were agreed upon, then a special Church, to be called the "Concordia" was to be erected in London, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, wherein at stated times there should be a united service of the British Catholics. A resident Greek Bishop, or his deputy, should on certain days celebrate divine service in St. Paul's Cathedral. Both Greeks and English were to use a common ritual based on the ancient liturgies, and free from anything objectionable to either side.[3]

The "Czar of Muscovy," Peter the Great, whose consent and interest had been previously obtained, as in the case of the Gallicans and the Russian-Eastern Church negotiations,[4] acted as the forwarder of the correspondence of the Non-jurors to the Eastern Prelates. He had also a very sincere interest in Christian re-union for its own sake. The Archbishop of Thebais, resident in London, also acted as an agent for the bishops in England.

James, the Patriarchical Proto-Syncellus, who had carried the bishops' missives to the Patriarchs, brought back the long letter, dated from St. Petersburg, August 16, 1721, replying to the English proposals. In the Patriarchs' reply they object to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem being ranked first. The correct order is Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The British Catholics may be subject to Jerusalem if they wish. With regard to the use of King Edward's First Liturgy, "The Oriental Orthodox Church acknowledges but one Liturgy, the same which was delivered down by the Apostles, but written by the first Bishop of Jerusalem, James the brother of God, and afterwards abbreviated on account of its length

[1] Thomas Lathbury, *idem*; also G. W. Kitchin, *On Two Proposals for Union with the Greek Church*, Contemporary Review, Vol. VI, pp. 186–199.

[2] The Non-juring Bishops who took part in the negotiations were Jolly, Spinckes, Hawes, Gandy, Collier, Thomas Brett, and John Griffin, with the Scotch Bishops Campbell and Gadderer. The account of the correspondence was set down some years after it had ended, and is preserved in the Jolly Manuscripts at the British Museum. Not long after the negotiations began, Spinckes, Hawes and Gandy withdrew, because of disagreements among the Non-jurors themselves. Griffin joined the group after Campbell returned to Scotland.

[3] Lathbury, *op. cit.*; also Kitchin, *op. cit.*

[4] Lathbury, *idem*, p. 314 *ff.*

by the great Father, Basil, and afterwards epitomized by John, the golden-tongued Patriarch of Constantinople, which from the times of Basil and Chrysostom, until now, the Oriental Orthodox Church receives and uses, and by them administers the unbloody sacrifice in every Church of the Orthodox."[1] On proper days, the Liturgy of St. Basil must be used, but that of St. Chrysostom, daily. To the Scriptures they add the Holy Synods and the Divine Fathers as the means whereby the Holy Spirit hath spoken to mankind. They affirm their belief in seven Sacraments, though only two " exceed in necessity, and are such as no one can be saved without them." They brand Purgatorial fire as a fable invented for lucre, and they contend for Prayers for Saints departed. They do not wonder at the Bishops being unable to accept certain teachings since they were " born and educated in the principles of Lutheran Calvinists." The Canons of the Synods are to be held just as binding as the Sacred Text. They do not give the Virgin Mary divine honours. It is insisted that the saints may be invoked and addressed as helpers. Transubstantiation, as defined by them, takes place in the Eucharist. The honour paid to images and pictures is only relative. The suggestion as to the erection of a Church in London is seconded. The Greek Liturgy as then used should, they considered, be translated into English for general use.[2]

At the conclusion of the reply, the following was appended : " The answers here transcribed to the proposals sent from Britain were drawn by a synodical judgment and determination of the Eastern Church, after the most mature deliberation, of the Lord Jeremias, the most holy ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, the new Rome, and the blessed and most holy Patriarchs, the Lord Samuel of Alexandria, and the Lord Chrysanthus of Jerusalem, with the holy Metropolitans, and the holy Clergy of the great Church of Christ in Constantinople, in council assembled, in the year 1718, in the month of April, day the 12th."[3]

Then follows a synodical answer relative to the statement of the faith of the Eastern Churches sent to England in 1672.[4] This latter document is reaffirmed, thirty-seven Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops signing. There appears another Synodical Decree, relative to the same matters, subscribed to by a number of Patriarchs and Bishops. In reply to the foregoing, the English bishops began a rather lengthy series of parleys, by correspondence, hoping to argue the Eastern Churchmen into their point of view. To all this the Orthodox Clergy yielded not a bit. In the meantime it had gradually dawned upon them that the Non-jurors were an irresponsible, unofficial remnant, though the full truth of this did not appear until Archbishop Wake, by a letter direct to the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1718, exposed and condemned the actions of the negotiating bishops.

In 1723, the Patriarchs, beginning to grow impatient, wrote that

[1] Lathbury, *op. cit.*, p. 314 *ff.*
[2] *Idem*, p. 324 *ff.*
[3] *Idem.*
[4] Appendix, p. 393–395.

" they must submit to them, with sincerity and obedience, and without any scruple or dispute." With this curt letter they forwarded a copy of *An Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* which had been agreed upon in the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672, and had been printed in 1675. They added that with respect to " custom and ecclesiastical order, and for the form and discipline of administering the Sacraments, they will be easily settled when once an union is effected." This letter was signed by the Patriarchs, several Archbishops and Bishops, and was dated at Constantinople in September, 1723.[1]

Then followed additional letters of no particular import to our theme. The Non-jurors wrote as though they were definitely planning to go in person to Russia, but this was really financially impossible. They had more than once asked Peter the Great to help in the finances of their negotiations. When the great Czar died in 1725 his death proved to be that which stopped all negotiations. In September, 1723, the Patriarchs and Bishops had sent translations of portions of the printed[2] report of the Synodus Bethlehemitica (1672) to the Non-jurors. These portions dealt especially with the doctrine of transubstantiation.[3]

In this, their final letter to the Non-jurors, they made a significant statement, referred to in 1868 in a Report of the Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury,[4] in which they expressed the belief that negotiations for intercommunion with the Eastern Orthodox can, with confidence, be conducted by His Grace, the Archbishop, on the basis of the final reply of the Eastern Churches to the Non-jurors in 1723. The statement referred to is as follows : " Now from thence you may know and understand the certain holy and orthodox sentiments of the Eastern Church among us, to which if you will be content to agree, you shall be altogether one with us. And as for matters of custom and ecclesiastical order, and for the form and discipline of administering the Sacraments, they will be easily settled when once a union is effected. For it is evident from ecclesiastical history, that there both have been, and now are, different customs and regulations in different places and Churches, and yet the unity of faith and doctrine is preserved the same."

EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ESSAYS

In 1701 and 1704 there appeared in England two essays, the first[5] evidently representing the sentiments of that group of English Churchmen who were not in favour of re-union between the Church

[1] Lathbury, *op. cit.*, p. 325 *ff.*

[2] Printed in Paris, 1675, in Greek and Latin.

[3] George Williams, *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 141–160, where Mr. Williams records the Confession of Faith as adopted by the Synodus Bethlehemitica.

[4] *A Report of the Debate on Intercommunion with the Eastern Orthodox Churches in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury on July 4th*, 1868. Rivingtons, London, pp. 4–5.

[5] *An Essay towards Comprehension, or a Persuasion to Unity among Protestants, offered to the Consideration of the Two Houses of Parliament*, London, 1701. See also *The Union Review*, Vol. I, pp. 460–461.

of England and the Church of Rome either during the period of the Stuart sovereigns or at any other time. What they did wish was that with certain reforms, and with the spirit of broad-minded charity as with regard to each other's differences, all of the Church parties then in England—Catholic, Presbyterian, Independent or Puritanic—would unite in a scheme of comprehension. The essay covered two hundred and thirty-nine octavo pages. It was said to have been written by a " Lover of Peace and Unity," but in the new edition of 1718, its author was given as " a Divine of the Church of England." In both editions the notation was made that the book was published with the consent of several " ministers and others of both persuasions." Alterations in the liturgy were proposed, but, having in mind the poor success of the efforts of 1689, the author gave these alterations a secondary place in his scheme. He made fourteen proposals which, briefly stated, were as follows :

(1) To do away with all pluralities when the living is above £60 per annum. And in any case where two are held they shall be contiguous. But the incumbent of the living embracing a market town shall not be allowed another living with it. (2) To oblige residence. When two are held the holder shall reside in one. (3) The incumbent to preach twice every Lord's Day in his Parish, except where two are held. At least he is to spend as much time as his sermons would take to deliver in catechizing or otherwise instructing his people. (4) It shall suffice for an incumbent elect to make a solemn declaration of conformity to the Articles. (5) A certain number of divines shall be empowered to call in the assistance of an equal number of dissenters, to advise about an alteration in the Liturgy. (6) The Cross in baptism is to be left indifferent. (7) There shall be no obligation to provide sureties in baptism, the parent or next immediate relative of the child to be present and give an account of his faith. (8) The Communion shall not be refused on the simple ground that persons otherwise fit shall refuse to kneel. (9) The use of the surplice shall either be altogether abolished or left indifferent. (10) Ministers without any new ordination shall, by the laying on the hands of the Bishop only, and by the delivery of the Bible, be authorized to execute the Priest's office in that particular congregation to which they are appointed in these words of the Ordinal, " Take thou authority," etc. (11) All ecclesiastical discipline shall be executed by the ministry, and public penance done : and that sentence shall not be commuted. (12) In the case of clerical scandals, the Bishop with the clergy of the Deanery where the offence is committed, shall have the power to suspend *ex beneficio et officio*. The Bishop is to visit every Deanery annually in order to appoint some grave person to receive accusations, and to bind over the parties to appear at the Episcopal visitation. (13) The ministers of meeting-houses shall be still empowered to preach as Lecturers until otherwise provided for. (14) Those who cannot accept these terms are to be allowed the benefits of the Act of Toleration on condition that the preachers follow no trade, that they are not Papists, and that they do not deny the doctrinal Articles of the Church.

Within three years after the publication of the above proposals

there appeared a second essay[1] which evidently fairly represented the views of the Laudian party, if not of the out-and-out Roman Catholics then nominally in the Church of England. If the author was Joshua Bassett,[2] head of Sidney College, Cambridge, then it is the product of one already in the Church of Rome. This essay is a very able document indicating that the author knew how to set forth persuasive arguments. For example, the whole essay is based upon six principles that had already been enunciated by Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York, in 1674.[3] He does not use the principles enunciated by Dr. Sharp in either the same order or setting as did the Archbishop. This will appear when we consider the substance of Dr. Sharp's sermon based on Romans 14, 19. First let us note the rules as set forth in the " Proposal for Catholic Communion."

(1) " To distinguish carefully between matters of Faith and matters of Opinion ; and as to those latter, to be willing that everyone should enjoy the liberty of judging for himself.

(2) " That errors in a Church as to matter of doctrines, or corruptions as to matter of practice, so long as these errors and corruptions are only suffered, but not imposed, cannot be a sufficient cause of separation ; the reason is, because these things are not sins in us, so long as we do not join with the Church in them.

(3) " Never to quarrel about words and phrases but so long as other men mean much the same that we do, let us be content, though they have not the luck to express themselves so well.

(4) " Never to charge upon men the consequences of their opinions, when they expressly disown them.

(5) " That unscriptural impositions are not a warrantable cause of separation from a Church ; supposing that by unscriptural be meant no more than what is neither commanded nor forbidden in the Scriptures.

(6) " That there are but two cases wherein it can be lawful to

[1] *An Essay towards a proposal for Catholic Communion ; wherein above sixty of the principal controverted points which have hitherto divided Christendom being call'd over, 'tis examined how many of them may and ought to be laid aside, and how few remain to be accommodated for the effecting of a general peace.* By a minister of the Church of England. 1704. See also the *Union Review*, Vol. I, p. 459 *ff.*, though the quotations from the *Essay* are imperfectly made. Of the *Essay* there was a second edition 1781, Dublin ; third edition, 1801 ; and fourth edition 1812. H. N. Oxenham in his *An Eirenicon of the Eighteenth Century*, argues that the *Essay* of 1704 was not written by a Non-juror, as proved by the fact that Archbishop Sharp, from one of whose published sermons the Rules of Chap. I are mainly derived, was a supporter and nominee of William III. We do know that the Non-jurors attacked it in three replies of 1705. One attack was made by Spinckes, who calls the author " a pretended minister of the Church of England." This argument is in accord with the Non-jurors' opposition, as evidenced in their correspondence with the Eastern Orthodox from 1717 on, to any Church practices which arose after the first six Ecumenical Councils. The Non-jurors maintained the English High Church traditions, however, and were forerunners of the Oxford and modern Anglo-Catholic Movements. See p. 227 *ff.*

[2] *Union Review, op. cit.* The editor holds that the author of the *Essay* was Joshua Bassett, the head of Sidney College, Cambridge. He is said to have been reconciled to Rome in 1687.

[3] A Sermon preached at Guildhall Chapel, Aug. 23rd, 1674, and recorded in *Fifteen Sermons Preached on Several Occasions*, by Lord Archbishop of York, Dr. John Sharp. Ed. VII, Vol. I, London, 1738.

withdraw our communion from a Church, because there are but two cases wherein communion with her can be sinful. One is, when the Church requires of us, as a condition of her communion, an acknowledgment and profession of that for a truth which we know to be an error. The other is, when the Church requires of us, as a condition of her communion, the joining with her in some practices which we know to be against the laws of God."

Each time that the "Essay" containing the above six Rules has been republished it has been with a view to furthering the Roman Catholic cause. Note especially Rule 1 with its wise advice "to distinguish carefully between matters of faith and matters of opinion," an injunction being constantly made in these latter days by all those interested in re-union with the Eastern or with the Western Churches.

After stating these six Rules the "Essay" proceeds in an irenic spirit to show that none of the primary Roman Catholic dogmas need present any insuperable obstacles to re-union between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. All are dealt with in detail, and each in turn is so interpreted as to indicate that Anglicanism would only find itself more fully and more richly realized in the Roman fold. Chapter II, which deals with Papal Infallibility and dismisses it as presenting no difficulties, would certainly require re-writing since the Vatican Council of 1870. The whole "Essay" reminds one somewhat of the irenical efforts of Leibnitz in his "Systematica Theologica"; of Newman in Tract XC; and of Pusey in his "Eirenicon." The "Essay," therefore, has real historical value in that its publication in the first instance, and at different times since, indicates the persistency of a tendency within the Anglican Church to explain away the differences and to surmount the obstacles that are generally regarded as hopelessly preventive of the union of this Church with the Latin Communion.

Each of the foregoing essays which have just been considered certainly contains many suggestions such as are heard in present-day proposals, or concordats, looking towards re-union between the Anglicans and Rome, and between the former Church and the Free Churches. Note especially proposals 4 and 14 of the "Essay" first reviewed wherein Conformity to the Articles is the one requirement emphasized, the laying on of hands and the delivery of the Bible by the Bishop being required in lieu of a new ordination as between the Anglicans and the Dissenters, among whom those termed "ministers of meeting-houses" are to be allowed to preach as "lecturers until otherwise provided for."

Let us now give our attention to the sermon by Archbishop Sharp, which proved such an inspiration to the author of the "Essay Towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion" that he derived therefrom his six rules conducive to unity. The Archbishop's first four propositions were:

(1) "*Every* Christian *is*, by virtue of his Christianity, a Member of the Church of Christ, and is bound to join in External Communion with it, where it can be had."

(2) "That everyone is bound to join in Communion with the established National Church to which he belongs, supposing that

there be nothing in the Terms of its Communion that renders it unlawful for him so to do."

(3) " That being a Member of any Church doth oblige a Man to submit to all the Laws and Constitutions of that Church."

(4) " That we can have no just Cause of withdrawing our Communion from the Church whereof we are Members, but when we cannot communicate with it without the Commission of a Sin."

In connection with proposition four, Dr. Sharp cites two cases, one of which is Rule 6 in the " Essay " of 1704. The Archbishop then gives the " Unwarrantable Grounds upon which many have proceeded to Separation from our Church," the first of these being Rule 5 of the " Essay " and the second Rule 2.

In indicating what things really make for peace he makes six recommendations, or rules. The first, third, and fourth of these are quoted verbatim and used as Rules one, three, and four in the " Essay " just noted. The propositions not used by the author of the " Essay " are :

(2) " I would recommend . . . . . great Simplicity and Purity of Intention in the Pursuit of Truth, and at no hand to let Passion, or Interest, or any Self-end, be ingredient into our Religion."

(5) " To abstract men's persons from their Opinions ; and in examining or opposing these, never to make any reflections upon those."

(6) " The . . . . last Thing I shall recommend to you as an Expedient of Peace, is a vigorous Pursuit of Holiness."

The sermon draws to an impressive close as Dr. Sharp shows how the obligations " to follow after things making for peace arise : 1. From the Nature and Contrivance of our Religion. 2. From the great weight the Scripture lays upon this Duty. 3. From the great unreasonableness of our Religious Differences. 4. From the very evil Consequences that attend them : As, 1. In that they are great Hindrances to a good Life. 2. They are very pernicious to the Civil Peace of the State. 3. They are highly opprobrious to Christianity in General. And 4. and lastly, Very dangerous to the Protestant Religion, as giving too many Advantages, and too much Encouragement to the Factors of the Papacy."[1]

THE ROMAN UNIATE CHURCHES

The Church of Rome, in her effort to respect differences in racial and national tradition while imposing all of the fundamental requirements as to doctrine and polity, has devised the scheme of Uniate Churches for those Non-Roman groups which seek to be in full communion with her. The instances of those amalgamations with Rome have been scattered through the centuries. To avoid confusion, let us consider all of them at this point in our study.

A Uniate Church is a Church made up of those who, with one exception, namely the Italo-Greek of Southern Italy and probably

[1] Archbishop Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–27.

also the Maronite, were at one time separated[1] from the Church of Rome, or Rome became separated from them, and who later re-united with Rome upon acceptance of Roman dogma, the essential elements of the services of that Church, of her fundamental laws, and of the authority of the Papacy. They are permitted to have very much of their own local ritual, their own liturgical language, canon law, local ecclesiastical authority and local customs. All this gives an idea as to the terms on which Rome would receive the remainder of the Eastern Churches into her fold. There are sixteen Eastern Uniate Rites. Their names, so far as possible, the Church of which they formerly formed a part, and the dates of their re-union with Rome are as follows: Formerly Nestorian: Chaldean, 1551, and Uniate Malabar, 1599 (Part again fell away in the 17th century). Formerly Eastern Orthodox: Ruthenian, 1595; Serbian, 1611; Gregorian, 17th century; Roumanian, 1700; Melchite, 1724; Bulgarian, 1860; Pure Greek, 1861; and Russian, 1905. The Catholic Armenian, formerly Gregorian Armenian, 12th to 14th centuries; the Catholic Coptic, formerly Coptic, 1741; Pure Syriac, formerly Jacobite, 1781; Catholic Abyssinian, formerly Abyssinian, 1846; Italo-Greek, never separated; and Maronite, who claim never to have separated. The Roman Church ever holds out open arms to any of the Eastern Churches whom it regards to be in schism, with the result that the Eastern Orthodox resent what they term to be bold proselytism.

Dr. B. J. Kidd,[2] writing as to the origin of the Uniate Churches, says: "For the most part they owe their formation to Latin missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and, except in one or two cases, such as that of the Malabar Uniates, whose succession is that of the ancient Malabar Church brought over at the Synod of Diamper, 1599, there is no continuity between Uniates of the present day and the ancient Churches of the East. They have been given Patriarchs and bishops of their own . . . . With the exception of the Maronites, they represent sections detached from these ancient Churches, sometimes by proselytism, sometimes in consequence of native schisms, and united to the See of Rome."

ROME AND RE-UNION

A. *The Roman Church Becomes an Isolated Denomination. The More Important Causes Leading to this Isolation Considered Previous to the Modern Re-union Projects in which Rome has had a Part.*

So far as the present attitude of the Roman Catholic Church is concerned, that Communion has no other conception of Christian unity than that on terms dictated by itself. While on an irenic

[1] W. L. Scott, *Eastern Catholics*, Catholic Truth Society, London. It should be noted that the above statements as to the former status of these Churches are drawn from Roman Catholic sources.

[2] B. J. Kidd, *The Churches of Eastern Christendom*, London, Faith Press, 1927. *Cf.* A. Fortescue, *The Uniate Eastern Churches.*

itinerary in 1911, Mr. Silas McBee[1] had an audience with the Pope at Rome. According to his report of what the Holy Father said on that occasion, the Church of Rome will be severe in its terms if the other Churches, on their part, are inclined to be critical and severe. However, if the remainder of Christendom will unconditionally submit, the terms for re-union with the Western Church will be made much more lenient. In our study it will be interesting to review certain approaches toward unity either emanating from Rome or from other Churches toward Rome which have not been discussed previously.

It cannot be denied that the whole matter of the Roman Church's attitude toward union, or aloofness with regard to other Churches, has, in recent centuries, been almost wholly determined by the Jesuit Order.[2] As stated before, it is this Society which seemingly inspires the Roman Church to maintain a harsh, severe, and uncompromising attitude when there are signs anywhere within that Church of any of the laity or clergy displaying an irenic spirit toward the representatives of any other Communion. In more recent years the entrance of Dr. Manning[3] and others into the Roman fold was followed by an immediate stiffening of the Roman attitude toward the Anglican Church, resulting finally in the Papal Bull, "Apostolicae Curae," which condemned the Anglican Orders.

A second factor which has contributed, and continues to contribute more and more, to the gulf between the Roman Church and the other Communions is the increasing tendency to extend dogmatically, by the aids of the doctrines of first Church and then of Papal Infallibility (1870), all of the various dogmas and items of polity, really originating in recent centuries, back to the teachings and practices of the first Christian century. This practice was especially encouraged by the so-called Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. These Decretals, now recognized as false, are believed to have been fabricated by one Isidore, at Tours, in France, in 847. By the middle of the eleventh century they were being distributed as an integral part of the canonical collections of the Roman Church. In the Decretals were seventy letters attributed to the Popes of the first three centuries. All of the customs, practices, and items of polity of the eleventh century were represented as having been in existence from the very beginning of the Christian Church. By using these false documents as though they were true, after several centuries the Roman Church smugly established itself in its added beliefs and practices. The result to-day is, that while the Decretals are branded as false, the ecclesiastical and sacerdotal monstrosity built by their encouragement persists, thus presenting insuperable obstacles to re-union with the Churches which were fortunate enough to escape the injection of such false authority into their growing life.

[1] Silas McBee, *An Eirenic Itinerary*, 1911, p. 153.

[2] See p. 193 *ff.* for a further discussion of the Jesuits' relation to union movements. See also Dr. J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Lectures on Christian Re-union*, where he deals at length with the interference of the Jesuits.

[3] See *The Union Review*, Vol. for 1867, p. 236 *ff.*, Review of Jules Gondon, Paris, 1867, *De La Réunion de l'Eglise d'Angleterre Protestante à l'Eglise Catholique.*

Another factor which has contributed to making the Roman Church simply another one of the Western sects[1] is the introduction of the *filioque* clause into the Nicene Creed at the Council of Toledo, Spain, in 589. The doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit thus being given a credal basis came to be accepted by other Western Churches. The Eastern Orthodox Churches have ever opposed the introduction of this clause into the Creed, branding it as non-ecumenical and heretical. Through the centuries this one compound word has been the occasion of the most bitter and prolonged controversies. The most satisfactory solution of the difficulties involved that has been reached to date was that arrived at in the Bonn Conference of 1875.[2] In this solution the Roman Church, not having been represented at the Conference, of course does not share. Even to-day many representatives of the Anglican Church, in conferences with the Eastern Orthodox, declare that they can never consent to the omission of the *filioque* clause from the Nicene Creed. At the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of the Council of Nicæa, as celebrated by the Anglican Communion at Westminster Abbey in 1925, when the Orthodox Churches by invitation participated, being represented by many prominent clergy, the *filioque* clause was included in the ritual, the Oriental clergy omitting the same as they took part. At Christmas time, 1927, members of the Anglican Church living in Serbia communicated by special invitation, at the altars of the Serbian Orthodox Church. While thus on the principle of economy the Orthodox are willing to communicate those who insist on the inclusion of the *filioque* clause, in any actual, final steps leading to union between themselves and Rome, or any of the Western Churches, they are probably ready to insist on the omission of this clause from the Creed.

The Roman dogma of the Immaculate Conception, promulgated in 1849, stands out as another seemingly insuperable obstacle for the other Catholic Communions, not to mention the Evangelical Churches.[3] It is not within the scope of this study to give in detail the reasons why this dogma is at present a positive barrier to union with Rome. The chief arguments made against it are that it is unscriptural, non-ecumenical, and ethically and philosophically unnecessary as a proof of Jesus' sinlessness or of Mary's exalted dignity as the Mother of the Saviour. It has led to very great excesses in Mariolatry, well nigh approaching idolatry in popular usage.

The famous and oft-quoted Rule of Vincentius of Lerins,[4] probably written in the first half of the fifth century, "*Teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*," was accepted and used by the Roman as well as by the Eastern Churches as a guide to Ortho-

[1] Dr. A. C. Headlam, *op. cit.*, p. 202, declares that at the Council of Trent the Roman Catholic Church ceased to be Catholic and began to be "a sectarian society."

[2] See p. 276 *ff.* in text.

[3] See Reply by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church of the East, August, 1895, to the Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII., June 20th, 1894.

[4] *The Commonitorium of Vincentius of Lerins*, Cambridge Patristic Texts. General Editor, A. J. Mason; Editor, R. S. Moxon, Cambridge University Press, 1915.

doxy until Cardinal Newman's "Essay on Development,"[1] since which Rome has rejected it as a safe guide to Orthodoxy. Cardinal Manning declared that the appeal to antiquity was both treason and heresy,—treason, because it rejected the divine voice of the Church in the present; heresy, because it denied that voice to be divine. Moxon insists that Vincentius' Rule does not preclude progress. It provides for change and recognizes only organic growth. It is Moxon who states that the Roman Catholic Church has now abandoned the Rule altogether. The Dogma of Papal Infallibility and the Rule of Vincentius cannot be held at one and the same time.

B. *Roman Church Re-union Projects*, 1609-1714.

Having just discussed some of the factors which have led Rome into a position where she is separated from the remainder of Christendom by barriers which her own leaders declare to be impassable as between themselves and all that are without their fold, let us now take up the thread of the narrative of specific instances of efforts to remove these obstacles. We have noted Rome's part in the various Ecumenical Councils and in the Councils of Lyons (1274), and Ferrara-Florence (1438). We have reviewed the Papal schism which was finally ended by the Council of Constance (1414-1418). In the face of the demands of the reformers, such as Luther, his predecessors and successors, as well as his contemporaries, the Western Church refused to depart from any of the iniquitous practices or beliefs pointed out. In fact, those who had the best welfare of the Church within their keeping at that time were themselves, for the most part, victims of moral paralysis, and therefore incapacitated to initiate reforms of any sort. The actual revolt of the Reformation sufficiently shocked the Roman authorities so that the Council of Trent (1545-1563) is listed as a reforming Council. But it was this Council which fixed the dogma and polity of the Roman Church, casting it in such moulds that thereafter the most promient proponents of union between the Reformed Churches—men such as Leibnitz, Molanus, and others—regarded the findings of the Council of Trent as being insuperable obstacles to re-union.

There is fairly dependable authority for the statement that about the year 1609, James I. of England, "wrote to Pope Paul V., offering to recognize his spiritual primacy, and re-unite the English Church to Rome, on condition only of his disclaiming political sovereignty over kings. The offer was promptly and peremptorily rejected."[2] The attitude of Paul V. on this occasion was in line with the Bull "Unam Sanctam," issued by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1302,[3] wherein the doctrine that the Pope has both temporal and spiritual supremacy was clearly and boldly set forth. This dogma, like many others

[1] *The Commonitorium of Vincentius, op. cit.*, Introduction, XXXII *ff.*

[2] So recorded in a letter from M. Puysieux, addressed under date of July 12th, 1609, to the French Ambassador at Rome. Said to be "preserved in the Royal Library at Paris." See *Saturday Review*, May 8th, 1869, British Museum files.

[3] "We declare, affirm, define and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." See Bishop Charles Gore, *Catholicism and Roman Catholicism*, A. R. Mowbray & Co., London, 1922.

that we have already considered, has in many ways through the centuries aroused the most determined animosity on the part of Christians of other lands toward the Holy See. This has been true with regard to the centuries-long opposition to Roman Catholics in England, ending, in part, with the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829, and also the opposition to all things Roman within the nominally Protestant countries of Northern and Central Europe, as well as that of the Americas. There is the well-grounded feeling that if the dogma is strictly held in this present day, a true Roman Catholic communicant cannot be a strictly loyal citizen in any nation not Roman. Although the Roman Church to-day officially denied that it holds the implications of the Bull of Pope Boniface VIII. as binding upon the faithful,[1] the fears and suspicions of that part of Christendom which is not Roman will never be allayed until there is a definite pronouncement, which meets all the requirements of infallibility, issued by the Pope, and plainly stating that all Papal pronouncements and practices hitherto clearly indicating that Rome claims sovereignty over both State and Church are now and for ever hereafter repudiated. In the meantime, supposing all other barriers between Rome and the other Churches to have been removed, there is little likelihood that the Churchmen of the various nations will seek union with the Church of another state, that state's head being at the same time the head of that Church. That the problems involved are a very serious hindrance to any union scheme in which the Roman Church has a part is a fact that must be conceded.

In 1663 terms of re-union with Rome were drawn up under Charles II. of England. The English Church was to remain largely national, with the Archbishop of Canterbury as the Patriarch of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, with only a few rights of supreme authority being preserved to the Roman Church. The decrees of the Council of Trent were to be recognized as binding. Those who were then bishops in the Church of England were to remain in their Sees provided they were reconsecrated by three Papal legates especially appointed. The King of England was to retain his right to nominate bishoprics, and Church property was to be administered as previously. Toleration was to be extended to the Protestants. The Eucharist was to be recited in Latin with the hymns in English. Those who wished it might have Communion in both kinds. The clergy who were married were to retain their wives. Celibacy was to be made a fixed practice at a later date. Certain of the religious Orders suppressed by Henry VIII. were to be revived.[2] England may not have been thoroughly Protestant at that time, but the great majority were opposed to Roman domination. The whole scheme of union with Rome under Charles II. collapsed, as the nation successfully sought to depose the Roman Catholic Stuart sovereigns and to set upon the English throne the Protestant House of Hanover.

[1] See articles on "Pope" and "Infallibility" in *Catholic Encyclopædia*.

[2] W. D. Christie, *A Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury*, Macmillan, 1871. Vol. II, Appendix ii, p. xiii. Colbert's Memoir, June 7th, 1672.

CLOSE OF THE ERA OF UNITY EFFORTS FOR POLITICAL REASONS. THE TREATIES OF RYSWICK (1697) AND UTRECHT (1714)

The above treaties ended King William III.'s War and the War of the Spanish Succession. In the former war, the Protestant King William III. of England, with the aid of the Austrian fragment of the Holy Roman Empire, of Spain, and of Holland succeeded in defeating France and in forcing its ruler, the Roman Catholic Louis XIV., who had been giving aid to the Roman Catholic James II., claimant to the throne of England, who was a refugee in his domains, to recognize him as the rightful king of England. Thus by the Treaty of Ryswick the Protestant Royal House of Hanover began to win recognition over the Roman Catholic Royal House of Stuart.

The victory, however, was not complete. It took the War of the Spanish Succession, in which many Powers successfully combined to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain, to force Louis XIV. truly to recognize the Protestant succession in England. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1714 marks a distinct advance, so far as Protestanism is concerned, over the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. We have seen how the latter established the principle of toleration for others than Catholics, and guaranteed the legal integrity of the Reformed, or Calvinists, and the Lutherans. The pact of Utrecht finds the Protestant Powers dictating the terms, not receiving concessions of toleration. We see England emancipated from Latin domination and about to begin an era of vast colonial expansion coupled with her rise to economic and commercial supremacy. The same is to become true, in a somewhat lesser measure, of Protestant northern and central Europe. All this means that efforts towards re-union will be almost entirely absent between the Churches in the emancipated Protestant nations and the Catholic Churches of the East and West—so far as approaches to the East are concerned for more than one hundred years, and so far as the Roman Church is concerned for an equal period of time.

Instead of the Catholics and Evangelical Protestants seeking union with one another, both, because of the vast new areas opened up by discovery and colonization, enter upon far-reaching missionary enterprises. It is these latter enterprises which have inaugurated the modern movements toward visible Christian unity. While the Churches are zealous in carrying the Evangel to new lands, a concomitant result is an increase in the number of denominations which have arisen partly for racial or national reasons.

The Treaty of Utrecht marks the close of the era when political and ecclesiastical statesmen sought Church unity by every possible means, their motives being either to regain the Pre-Reformation unity minus its abuses, or to maintain general domestic peace and national safety. Rulers desired unity, for their most destructive wars grew out of the Church schisms. Many of the ecclesiastics desired it, for they were at the service of their sovereigns. Such

men as Baxter, Drury, and Leibnitz were exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, the Treaty of Utrecht marks the beginning of the era that witnessed the evangelical revival under Wesley, the American and the French Revolutions, and the organization of the great foreign missionary enterprises on the part of all the Churches. We shall see in this era the beginnings of denominational co-operation and *rapprochement* for the sake of more effectively prosecuting missionary work, both home and foreign.

PERIOD III

BEGINNINGS OF MODERN MISSIONS, SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION, INTERCHURCH CO-OPERATION AND ALLIANCE, AND ORGANIC UNIONS WITHIN DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS. APPROACHES TOWARD CATHOLIC UNION

(Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries)

" Jesus answered, The first is, Hear, O Israel ; The Lord our God, the Lord is one : and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength. The second is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."—S. Mark xii, 29–31.

" Now I beseech you, brethren, through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no division among you ; but that ye be perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgment . . . each one of you saith, I am of Paul ; I am of Apollos ; and I am of Cephas ; and I am of Christ. Is Christ divided ? "—I Corinthians i, 10–13.

" Heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals : yea, more than corruption of manners ; for as in the natural body a wound or cessation of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the Church, and drive men out of the Church, as breach of unity."—Lord Bacon, in *Unity and Religion.*

CHAPTER III

Rise of the Missionary Urge and of Educational Factors for the Promotion of Christian Unity

Christian Co-operative Associations and Unity Societies

With the discoveries of Christopher Columbus and the voyages of Drake, Frobisher, Magellan, Cabot, and Vasco da Gama, we have the beginning of the era of modern Christian Missions. Chaplains accompanied some of these explorers. The bringing of not only new peoples, but of hitherto supposedly inaccessible men within the neighbourhood circle of European Christians, inevitably resulted in a desire to share with them the blessings of the Gospel.

In 1534, the year of the Act of Supremacy by which the Church of England was severed from the Pope's sovereignty, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier founded the Jesuits. The missionaries of this Order, of which Xavier was the greatest pioneer, penetrated the Americas and certain lands of the Orient. In the same year, Erasmus, with an international outlook, wrote his *Treatise on Preaching*. In 1556, Admiral Coligny, Huguenot, secured a band of Christian men at Geneva, and, with the help of Calvin, sent them to Brazil as emissaries of the Reformed faith. In 1559, under the patronage of King Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, missionaries were sent to Lapland. In 1612, the Dutch Anthony Walænus founded a missionary college at Leyden. From this institution men were sent to the East Indies. For their use Hugo Grotius wrote a treatise on the truth of Christianity. Peter Heyling, of Lübeck, Germany, went to Abyssinia in 1632 with the hope of winning some to the Christian way. In the same year Sir Walter Raleigh gave one hundred pounds to the Company that founded Virginia, which they were to use in propagating the Christian religion.

The year 1648 not only marks the final completion of the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Westphalia, but it was the year which saw the beginnings of the Quakers under George Fox, whose supposed heresies were thought to be one of the reasons for the organization of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1698, and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701.[1] It was in this same year when the Long Parliament under Cromwell first heard that the heathen called on the name of the Lord as the result of the labours of John Eliot, begun in 1646. They were so touched by the account of Eliot's success in New England that on July 27th, 1649, they passed an ordinance establishing "A Cor-

[1] W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 1698–1892, London, S.P.C.K., 1898, Introductory Chapter.

poration for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." By popular subscription £12,000 were raised. From the interest on this money, Eliot was given aid. Thus the first S.P.G. was founded. At the restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne, this Society, founded by the Commonwealth, became defunct. But in 1662, under a Charter granted by Charles II., a second S.P.G. was organized, which in 1786 was removed to New Brunswick and, after varying fortunes, is now known as " The New England Company," doing certain mission work in British America.[1]

In the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries there was a shocking condition of morals in England. Atheism, deism, socinianism, drunkenness, immorality, and irreligion, were well nigh the rule, while solid piety and serviceable experienced Christianity were the exception.[2] But near the close of the seventeenth century (1670), certain movements were set going at Frankfort which were destined to contribute no small part in smoothing out denominational differences,[3] and which first found their way into England through the preaching of Dr. Anthony Horneck in 1678. As a result of his preaching, the " Religious Societies " of London and Westminster were founded. In 1691, " Societies for the Reformation of Manners," with Nonconformists included in their membership, were instituted. In celebration of the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, King William III., in an address to Parliament, declared that the Peace would give him leisure to reform the internal administration and " effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality." By profaneness, he alluded to the prevalent socinian denial of the Trinity. This brings us to the founding of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1698 and of the Third Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701.

It was on March 8th, 1698 (O.S.), that the Rt. Hon. Lord Guildford, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Mr. Justice Hook, Colonel Colchester, and Dr. Thomas Bray met to found the Society for the Promotion of

[1] C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 1701–1900, London, 1901, Introductory Chapters.

[2] Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 3 Vols. See also Bishop Ryle, " The English Church of the Eighteenth Century," Chap. VIII, *Church Abuses*. (Eugene Stock, *op. cit.*, gives this as the title of Bishop Ryle's book. The Bishop did write a book, entitled *Facts and Men : Being Pages from English Church History between* 1553 *and* 1683, London, 1882, 8vo.) The latter is said to be slightly overdrawn in its picture, but all the histories of England of this period indicate a state of decay of all vital religion in most parts of the country.

[3] Dr. Spener, according to Warneck, founded the University of Halle in 1691. Here, Dr. August Herman Francke (1663–1727), was one of the first professors. The latter, and Count Zinzendorf, were the chief Pietist missionaries. Dr. Gustav Warneck (in his *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions*, edited by George Robson, Edinburgh, 1901, p. 67), calls these two men " the Fathers " of Protestant or Evangelical Missions. It was in 1727 that Zinzendorf succeeded in inducing some Reformed, Lutheran, and Moravian Christians to unite in the Holy Communion. The new Pietistic group which he founded was called " Unitas Fratrum," or " Unity of Brethren." The Pietists, as those who emphasized and experienced deep spiritual life, and as missionaries, were powerful factors in eliminating a large amount of the eighteenth-century sectarian bitterness.

Christian Knowledge. "These were the five men who,[1] in the midst of 'the visible decay of Religion in this Kingdom,'" to quote the first circular letter of the S.P.C.K., "'with the monstrous increase of Deism, Prophaneness, and Vice,'" began on that 8th day of March, 1698, their humble efforts to raise the nation from its state of spiritual degradation."

The S.P.C.K., thus founded, sought to provide books and tracts for the furtherance of the Gospel. By 1701, Dr. Thomas Bray, the prime mover in founding the Society, who had himself gone to America under its auspices, was convinced that there should be a Society organized to provide the "living agents to carry the S.P.C.K's. printed materials." Under an Act of Parliament permitting incorporation, the third S.P.G. was founded. It held its first meeting on June 27th, 1701, at Lambeth Palace, with Dr. Tenison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the chair, and with the Bishops of London (Compton), Bangor (Evans), Chichester (Williams), and Gloucester (Fowler), amongst those in the officiary of the Corporation. This Society should not be confused with the Society bearing a similar name founded in Scotland in 1709 for the support of missions in the Scotch Highlands and which, later, through its grant to the New York and New Jersey Presbyterian colonists, gave aid to David Brainerd, missionary to the American Indians. It was Jonathan Edwards' *Life of David Brainerd* which so profoundly influenced such missionary pioneers as William Carey, Samuel Marsond, Henry Martyn, and Thomas Chalmers. John Wesley, who later was led into an experience of change of heart as a result of association with Pietistic missionaries, was himself a missionary of the third S.P.G. when he made his ill-fated trip to Georgia in 1736.

We have thus dwelt at some length on the beginnings of modern missions, even though in no case up to this point in our investigation of these beginnings have we noticed what might be regarded as an instance of interdenominational effort except in the cases of the "Societies for the Reformation of Manners," in 1691. But all our further studies will impress us more and more that it was these first efforts in missions in recent centuries, these initial efforts which led to the transference of the centre of interest from the consideration of abstract doctrine and polity to Christian service on behalf of others, these first steps in modern times in the great matter of the Churches reaching forth to better the lives of those outside their own home folds, howsoever bigoted and narrow their motives may have been, which constitute the first act of the modern drama of an ever-increasing desire and attainment of both inward and visible Church Unity.

MISSIONS INITIATE MODERN UNITY MOVEMENTS

The German Pietistic missionaries sought to further the experience of inward religion. They displayed no particular zeal to further any

[1] W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

particular type of Church order. The S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. became definite agents for the Gospel as expressed in the Church of England.[1] In their later preaching, their Church became a part of their evangel. This was somewhat less true of the Church Missionary Society, founded as the "Society for Missions to Africa and the East," in 1799, whose name became as it is at present in 1812. This, too, was Church of England in its origin. But it had its beginnings amongst the Evangelicals of the second generation of the Wesleyan Revival who were *within* the Established Church. It was this Evangelical Movement within the English Church which included the "Clapham Sect."[2] In the latter were such men as William Wilberforce, Charles Grant, Zachary Macaulay, James Stephen, and Henry Thornton—all great names in English social and civic reform as well as missionary zeal. In spite of High Church opposition such as that represented in the "Clapton Sect" with Joshua Watson and others amongst its members, Evangelical Churchmen organized the C.M.S. and expressly stipulated at the time of its change of name in 1812, "That friendly relations with other Protestant missionaries were to be maintained."[3] The first missionaries of the C.M.S. were Melchior Renner of the Duchy of Würtemberg and Peter Hartwig, a Prussian. After they presented themselves as candidates, they were sent back to Germany for ordination,—and were then sent as Lutheran clergymen "on a par ecclesiastically with the German and Danish missionaries of the S.P.C.K. in South India." "The Committee then accepted them as full 'missionaries'; and the 'catechist' difficulty was thus disposed of, as the friends who objected to laymen being sent out were quite willing to recognize Lutheran orders."[4] Dr. Warneck states that the mission schools of Jänicke in Berlin, and later, Basle, furnished the London C.M.S. one hundred and twenty missionaries in all, including such men as Rhenius, Weitbrecht, Leupold, Pfander, Kölle, Johnsen, Hinderer, Schön, Gobat, Krapf, and Rebmann.[5] In 1799, the S.P.C.K. sent the Rev. W. T. Ringeltaube, a Dane in Lutheran Orders, as its first missionary to India. After a short service he joined the London Missionary Society, founded in 1795.

William Carey, Baptist preacher and cobbler of Leicester, England, inspired by Edwards' *Life of David Brainerd*, and convinced as to the need of carrying out the command given to the Apostles to go and teach all nations, as with regard to the savages on the islands discovered by Captain Cook, addressed a company of fellow Baptist ministers with the plea that they should recognize the Lord's command

[1] Bishop Eyre Chatterton, in his *A History of the Church of England in India*, S.P.C.K., 1924, p. 104 *ff.*, says that "for nearly a century a body of Lutheran clergy were supported by" the S.P.C.K. Chief among these were Sartorius, Gericke, Fabricius, Kiernander, and Charles Frederick Swartz (1726–1798). Then the "English Church woke up to a sense of its duty to send out missionaries of our own Church," p. 103. Bishop Heber saw the "anomaly" and advocated a change to Anglican clergy.

[2] Eugene Stock, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42.

[3] Gustav Warneck, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[4] Eugene Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[5] Gustav Warneck, *op. cit.*, p. 90

as binding in their day. The Chairman branded him as an enthusiast and told him to be seated. But in 1792 Carey had recourse to the Press and published his *An Inquiry into the Obligations of Christians*, etc. This treatise led a number of those interested to assemble that they might consider their obligations. On this occasion, Carey preached his epoch-making sermon on Isaiah liv, 2–3 : " Expect great things from God, and attempt great things for God."[1] The Baptist Missionary Society was organized at the close of this sermon, October 2nd, 1792.

THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

In 1795, communicants of the Church of England, of the Scottish Established Church, in Crown Court, Independent, and Methodist bodies founded the London Missionary Society.[2] On the day of its founding, Dr. Haweis, a minister of the Church of England, preached a sermon in which he said : " I am, my brethren, an Episcopalian, and by choice, as by education, attached to the Established Church, and wish to see her a glory in the earth ; yet I am not a bigot. I neither suppose salvation restricted to her pale, nor the approbation of her rulers, however desirable, essential to an Evangelical mission."[3]

Not long thereafter, Dr. Bogue, an Independent minister, speaking in connection with the founding of the Society, said : " We have now before us a blessed spectacle—Christians of different denominations, although differing in points of Church government, united in forming a Society for Propagating the Gospel among the heathen. This is a new thing in the Christian Church. Some former societies have accepted relations from men of different denominations, but the government was confined to one, but here are Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Independents all united in one Society, all joining to form its laws, to regulate its institutions and manage its various concerns. Behold us here assembled with one accord to attend the funeral of bigotry."[4]

Very soon, however, severe opposition arose to the Church of England having either a direct or an indirect part in the work of the Society. During the course of the years the Presbyterians made particularly great contributions in the persons and work of David Livingstone, Thomas Chalmers, and Robert Moffatt, but in the course of time they formed their own missionary society. When, in 1890, the Scottish and Irish Presbyterian Churches were invited to send representatives to the Board, they failed to do so. The Society to-day is practically wholly Congregational. Its missionaries have played an important part in the formation of the South India United Church. Its Theological Training College has become Union.

[1] George Smith, *The Life of William Carey, D.D.*, London, 1885. Chap. II, *The Birth of England's Foreign Missions.*

[2] See *Church Union Journal*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 127 *ff.* of Vol. I.

[3] *Church Union Journal, op. cit.*, p. 127 *ff.*

[4] *Idem.*

THE FIRST AMERICAN UNION MISSION MOVEMENTS

In 1796, members of the Presbyterian, Baptist and Dutch Reformed Churches formed the New York Missionary Society for work among the American Indians.

In 1810 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was formed by Congregationalists. To this Board, in 1812, the Presbyterian General Assembly answered an overture made to it in 1811, by promising co-operation. Accordingly, in 1812, eight additional Commissioners, all Presbyterians, were added to this Board; in 1813 one from the Associate Reformed (now the United Presbyterian) Church was added; and in 1815 one from what was then known as the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America was added, thus making the American Board interdenominational. In 1837 the "Old School" Presbyterians withdrew from the Board, and in 1857 the "New School" Presbyterians, by virtue of their union with those of the "Old School," also withdrew. Likewise, in 1857, the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church severed its relation, and in 1913 the Board became distinctly Congregational.

It was this American Board which took the first official steps in the inauguration of the principle of comity on the mission fields. In 1838 they passed a resolution which read as follows: "Resolved that this Board respectfully suggest and recommend wherever a Society has a mission already in the district of country where another Society contemplates operations, that it shall be deemed suitable that the Societies whose missionaries are already on the field be apprised of the fact and consulted before such operations are commenced."[1]

Many other comity arrangements have followed since, such as that of Bishop G. A. Selwyn (Anglican), of the Pacific Islands, in 1860, with the different Free Church Societies labouring there. The splendid arrangement made soon after Dewey's victory at Manila, whereby "The Evangelical Union of the Philippines" was organized, comprising Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and the United Brethren, and so assigning the territory that serious overlapping has been prevented, has been respected to this day. The American Protestant Episcopal Church did not join this Union, but they respected the principles of comity and the division of territory.[2] These early comity movements proved to be the beginning of a spirit of mutual respect and good-will which has led to an ever-increasing realization of federation and organic union in the newer Christian fields. We must not, however, proceed too far in our story of the beginnings of co-operation and union in the missionary work until we have considered the rise of another form of Christian enterprise for the propagation of God's truth, namely, the Bible Societies.

[1] *World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh*, 1910. Vol. viii, Report of Commission viii, pp. 13–14.

[2] *Idem*, pp. 13–14.

EARLY DENOMINATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN BIBLE SOCIETIES

The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, founded by members of the Established Church of Scotland in 1709, did the work of a Bible Society when, in 1807, it distributed Bibles to the Gaelic population. The Naval and Military Bible Society, which had its beginnings in 1780, was probably the first organization in which Dissenters united with the Church of England for Christian service. Following this, representatives of several denominations associated themselves together in 1785 to form the Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools in Great Britain, in the institution of which Robert Raikes was active. In May, 1792, the French Bible Society was organized. On account of the French Revolution its monies were not used in France, but among the poor Catholics of the United Kingdom, including Ireland.

From 1789 to 1799 there was a great demand made upon the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to furnish Bibles in their own language to the people of Wales. That demand they were unable to meet. Their failure led to " An Address " being circulated to call for a meeting in London on March 7th, 1804, to consider " The Importance of Further Distribution of Bibles." In January of that year a few of those interested met and agreed upon a plan for " A Society for promoting a more extensive circulation of the Holy Scriptures at home and abroad," with the designation, " The British and Foreign Bible Society." At the meeting held in the London Tavern, Bishopsgate, on the date set in the appeal, there were three hundred in attendance, including Anglicans, Free Churchmen, and three Quakers. Mr. Granville Sharp, a member of the Established Church, was called to the chair. The emotions of all present were stirred. Mr. Owen writes : " Surrounded by a multitude of Christians, whose doctrines and ritualistic differences had for ages kept them asunder, and who had been taught to regard each other with a sort of pious estrangement, or rather of concentrated hostility, the scene was new."[1] Dr. Porteus, the Bishop of London, was favourable, stating that he hoped this Society might gradually allay that bitterness of dispute, and put an end to those unhappy divisions, which had so long tarnished the Christian World.[2] In conjunction with the founding of the London Missionary Society in 1795, this historic gathering marks the real beginning in modern Christianity of union movements which, please God, are not to end until Christ's prayer, " that they all may be one," has been fully answered.

When the eighth anniversary of its founding was celebrated in 1812, the Rt. Hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer, having in mind the interdenominational make-up of its Executive Committee of thirty-six, and the fine harmony prevailing in their midst, said that he was

[1] *History of British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 Vols., London, 1816, John Owen, author, p. 44.
[2] *Idem*, pp. 49, 50.

unable to tell which were Dissenters and which were Churchmen.[1] The Bishop of Durham gave both financial and moral support. On the nomination of the Bishop of London, Lord Teignmouth (John Shore), who had been with Hastings in India, and who was a prominent member of the Evangelical Clapham Sect of the Church of England, was elected the first president of the Society in 1804, and continued to hold that position until his death on February 14th, 1834. The decision, reached in September of the Society's first year of existence, to publish 20,000 Welsh Bibles and an additional 5,000 Testaments was an attempt to fulfil what had been one of the chief purposes in its founding.

Very soon the Society began to establish Branches in other cities and countries, thus ultimately extending its spirit of interdenominational co-operation throughout the world. Among the first Branches thus established by the grant of financial aid were: Nuremburg, Germany, 1804; the Canstein Bible Institution, founded at Halle, Germany, by Charles Hildebrand in 1710, which accepted aid; the Berlin Bible Society, 1806; the Dublin Bible Society, formed in 1806, out of "The Association for Discountenancing Vice, and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion," which had been founded in 1792; the Bible Societies of Cork and Ulster, 1807; the Stockholm, Sweden, Evangelical Society, which began the distribution of Bibles in 1809; the Philadelphia Bible Society, 1808; the Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey Bible Societies in May, July, and December, respectively, founded in 1809; and the Calcutta Bible Society, 1811. By 1816, when the American Bible Society was founded with many prominent members of different denominations, one hundred Bible Societies had already been founded in the United States. A great and far-reaching religious revival swept over the United States in the first part of the nineteenth century, causing not only the quick response to the calls to form Bible Societies, but resulting also in the organization of the Congregational-Presbyterian American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions[2] in 1810–1812; the Baptist and the Methodist Boards of Foreign Missions; the founding of numerous Theological Seminaries and the beginning of many denominational religious journals and publishing houses.

In the Laws and Regulations of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which was parent of so many similar Bible Societies, we read: "Every clergyman or Dissenting Minister, who is a member of the Society, shall be entitled to attend and vote at all the meetings of the Committee."[3] As the first translations of the Bible into the languages of the people in Reformation days proved to be an important agent for the promotion of democracy, so the beginnings of interdenominational Bible Societies, as well as the continuation of the same, promoted both religious democracy and unity. In 1861

[1] *History of British and Foreign Bible Society, op. cit.*, p. 51.

[2] See p. 120.

[3] Tracts on Mission Work, 1830–1875, British Museum Library, 4192 ee 2. (*a*) "Conferences on Christian Union" (Sec. 13.).

the National Bible Society of Scotland was formed, with all of that country's leading denominations in its membership. The Connecticut Bible Society, at its Annual Meeting in Hartford on May 11th, 1899, took steps which led to the Connecticut State Federation of Churches.[1] So likewise have all Bible Societies been both training grounds for the raising up of men with the wider-than-one denomination vision, and leading factors in promoting cosmopolitanism and breadth of vision as well as depth of consecration.

BEGINNINGS OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL CONFERENCES AND UNIONS ON MISSION FIELDS

We have already traced the beginnings of modern Missions which are proving to be an increasingly important factor in leading to general Christian Unity. We noted that the London Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions were interdenominational in their early days, and that both the Church Missionary Society and the third, and present, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, through the Church of England, at first employed missionaries who had either Reformed or Lutheran Church Orders. We saw the beginnings of comity in connection with the American Board. We are now ready to note the beginning of interdenominational conferences and unions on the Mission fields. The necessity for such a mutual exchange of ideas and courtesies was recognized very early in the history of modern Missions, but the first actual officially delegated interdenominational Conference did not take place in the East until the one held at Calcutta in 1855. Our attention, therefore, will first be directed to India. There the Zenana Mission will be found to be the pioneer in the efforts to reduce inefficiency by resorting to unity.

a. INDIA

The Zenana Bible and Medical Mission of India was perhaps the first instance of such a union amongst the representatives of otherwise widely separated Church groups. This Mission came into existence in 1851 as the result of a general request being extended to the Rev. Henry Venn, the noted Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society of England, to draw up Articles of Association for the banding together of workers from all branches of the Reformed Churches then in India—at that time chiefly Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists. This Society, which exists to-day, it not ecclesiastical, since it does not regard membership in its body as being Church membership. Its labours are almost wholly confined to women and girls. Lady Kinnaird was very

[1] E. B. Sanford, *Origin and History of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America*, Hartford, 1916, pp. 104–105.

influential and helpful at the time of its founding, and her family has been interested continuously in its support ever since. It has very fine schools in Bombay, Punchgani, and Lahore.[1]

In 1855 a general Christian Conference for the Bengal area met at Calcutta, India. They were in session for forty-five days with fifty-five delegates present from six societies. As was noted above, this was the first interdenominational Missionary Conference in the Orient. A total of seventeen such major gatherings were held from 1855 to 1906.

Two years later a general interdenominational Missionary Conference was held at Benares, India. It was composed of thirty-six members, representing seven societies, and lasted for four days. The records of their proceedings were destroyed in the Mutiny. In the reports of the South India and Ceylon Conference, which met at Ootacamund in the following year, 1858, are to be found brief histories of each of seven of the eight different Missions represented at this gathering. For sixteen days thirty-two representatives discussed the mutual relations of their Missions. Inter-Mission discipline was the subject discussed at the Punjab Conference, which met at Lahore for seven days in 1862, seventy-one representatives being present from six societies.

The following year Mr. J. T. M'Lagan, a prominent Presbyterian layman of Bengal, issued an important pamphlet, in which he proposed a union of all the Presbyterians in India.

The First Indian Decennial Conference met at Allahabad in 1872. It was in session seven days, having a membership of one hundred and thirty-six delegates from nineteen different societies. In 1879 the Second South India Conference gathered at Bangalore. It had an eight-day session, with one hundred and eighteen members present, representing nineteen missionary organizations. Then, in 1882, the Second Indian Decennial Conference was held at Calcutta. Its sessions lasted seven days, with four hundred and seventy-five persons present as representatives of twenty-seven missionary groups.

In 1886 the Church Missionary Society, which, as we have already noted, had an Evangelical founding, issued the following important statement: "This Society deprecates any measure of Church organization which may tend to permanently subject the native Church units in India to the formation and arrangements of the National and Established Church of a far distant and very different country, and therefore desires that all present arrangements for Church organization should remain as elastic as possible, until the native Christians themselves shall be numerous and powerful enough to have a dominant voice in the formation of an ecclesiastical constitution on lines suitable to the Indian people."[2]

The Third Indian Decennial Conference met at Bombay in 1892. Nearly seven hundred members were present from forty different societies. During the seven days of meeting, comity was the chief topic of discussion.

[1] *Church Union Journal*, Edinburgh, Vol. I, pp. 110–112.
[2] Official Minutes of the C.M.S. for 1886.

Later[1] the further progress of Christian co-operation in India will be noted. We need not be surprised to find that all foregoing Conferences inevitably led to the desire for, and the attainment of, an increasing measure of federation and organic union.

b. CHINA AND JAPAN

The first instance of interdenominational union for missionary work in China was that which took place at Amoy (1862). The tendency to make rapid moves toward unity has gained its greatest momentum in the twentieth century, resulting, as we shall see later, in unprecedented consolidations. We find that there were two General Christian Conferences in China in the nineteenth century. The first, held at Shanghai in 1877, was in session for thirteen days. It was made up of one hundred and forty-two members, representing twenty societies. Co-operation and the advisability of ecclesiastical union were discussed. The Second General Christian Conference was also held in Shanghai, where, in 1890, thirty-six societies were represented by four hundred and forty-five delegates who conferred together for ten days, discussing co-operation and the division of the field.

At the First General Convention of the Protestant Missionaries in Japan, in 1872, the following resolution was unanimously adopted : " Whereas the Church of Christ is one in Him and the diversities among Protestants are but accidents which, though not affecting the vital unity of believers, obscure the oneness of the Church in Christendom and much more in Pagan lands, where the history of the divisions cannot be understood ; and whereas we, as Protestant missionaries, desire to secure uniformity in our modes and methods of Evangelization so as to avoid as far as possible the evil arising from marked differences ; we, therefore, take this earliest opportunity offered by this Convention to agree that we will use our influence to secure as far as possible identity of name and organization of the native Churches in the formation of which we may be called to assist, that name being as Catholic as the Church of Christ and the organization being that wherein the government of each Church shall be by ministry and eldership of the same, with the concurrence of the brethren."[2]

In 1877 the Mission Churches connected with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Reformed Church in America, and the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland, united to form the Church of Christ in Japan. To this union were later added the Churches planted by the Presbyterian Church in U.S., the Reformed Church in U.S., and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. From the beginning the Japanese desired a brief, simple creed, but in deference to the wishes of the Mission they accepted as standards of doctrine the

[1] See p. 268 *ff.*

[2] See " *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, and Formosa,*" Federation of Christian Missions in Japan, 1926, article by S. Yamamoto, p. 34.

Westminster Confession, the Canons of the Synod of Dort, and the Shorter and Heidelberg Catechisms. After twelve years the preference was for the Apostles' Creed only, which was adopted by the Synod with a prefatory statement.

The missionaries of the Church of England and of the American Protestant Episcopal Church assembled at a United Conference in Osaka in 1887. At that time they declared for the establishment of an indigenous Christian Church with no non-essential conditions of communion imposed. In that same year the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches of Japan entered into a union which lasted but two years.

In 1891 the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland entered into Organic Union in their Mission Churches in Manchuria, very close relations still being maintained with the two home Churches.

INTERDENOMINATIONAL MISSION CONFERENCES HELD AT THE HOME BASES

In these days when we think of the Anglican Church as being a unified world-wide Church, it is well to remember that not many years ago it was a very loose union, and that the assembling of the First Lambeth Conference in 1867 met with pronounced opposition. Accordingly we are not wrong in classifying the Pan-Anglican Celebration of the Third Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as an interdenominational event of 1851. Christian missions led to this noted Assembly. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sumner, invited the bishops of the American Protestant Episcopal Church to come to England and participate in that Jubilee. The Bishops of Maryland and Vermont (Dr. Hopkins), together with others, replied favourably, expressing hope for much closer intercommunion. This was a more remote and yet most fundamental cause of the rise of the notable series of Lambeth Conferences.

Before the growth of the Christian Church in Mission Fields had extended so far that the native Christians desired local union and control, the various Foreign Mission Boards and Societies of the mother Churches generally began to hold great interdenominational missionary conferences. The first of these was held in Dr. Alexander's Church in New York City, May 4th to 5th, 1854. It was occasioned by a visit of Dr. Alexander Duff to America, and was attended by one hundred and fifty members, including eleven missionaries and eighteen officers of various missionary Societies and Boards. The topics discussed were : the Scriptural Basis of Missions ; the Question of Concentrating or Scattering Labours ; the Question of Different Boards Planting Stations on the Same Ground ; and the Question of Multiplying and Preparing Labourers. This Conference was the first in a series of seven conferences leading to the Edinburgh Conference of 1910.

The Second Interdenominational Missionary Conference was held

in London, October 12th to 13th, 1854. There were members present from all the principal societies. The main result was the promotion of brotherly feeling and a helpful interchange of opinion on certain points.

At the Third General Interdenominational Missionary Conference which was held in Liverpool, March 19th to 23rd, 1860, the one hundred and twenty-six delegates included twenty missionaries and one Indian, the Rev. Behari Lal Singh. Several were officials in Missionary Societies. The day meetings on this occasion were private, the evening ones being public.

The Fourth General Missionary Conference was held in Conference Hall, Mildmay Park, London. One hundred and fifty-eight delegates assembled, representing thirty-four Missionary Societies, eleven of which were non-British. Here from October 21st to 26th, 1878, missions were discussed geographically, to show the extent and effectiveness of the work.

Exeter Hall, London, was the scene of the Fifth one of this series of Conferences. It met June 9th to 19th, 1888, to mark the Centenary of Modern Protestant Missions. There were one thousand, three hundred and forty-one delegates from fifty-three British Societies, one hundred and thirty-two from sixty-seven American Societies, eighteen delegates from as many Continental Societies, and three representatives from two Colonial organizations. Five open Conferences and twenty-two sectional meetings were held.

The last important nineteenth-century move in the way of co-operation between the Foreign Mission Boards was the formation of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America in 1893. This was organized to provide for co-operation at the home base between permanent missionary organizations. The work accomplished by this Conference in the years since has been very far-reaching.

CRITICAL SCHOLARSHIP'S CONTRIBUTION TO CHRISTIAN UNITY—MODERN EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE

In any effort to explain why, in modern times, union movements with official sanction have steadily increased in numbers and significance until to-day not a year passes without Christendom being thrilled by some outstanding combination of hitherto separated groups, we need to place the general progress of education throughout the world as a cause ranking next to, if not alongside, the missionary urge. We shall consider this progress in education as including : (1) The various significant contributions made toward the spiritualization and better understanding of the Scriptures by the critical study of the same ; (2) the increasing acceptance of philosophies, such as those of Von Hügel, Lloyd Morgan, General Smuts, Borden P. Bowne, Pringle-Pattison, Schleiermacher, Kant, and others, which form a favourable basis for a re-union theology ; (3) the progress made in the fields of religious and social psychology ; (4) the vast extension of interdenominational religious education ; (5) the increasing number

of inter- or non-denominational colleges and universities together with union theological seminaries, and also the extended reading of interdenominational religious journals; (6) the larger numbers of students studying in the higher institutions of other lands and Churches, together with the exchange of professors; (7) the greatly lessened amount of acrimoniousness and prejudice due to a fairly general study of comparative religions; (8) the very much perfected understanding that the Churches have of each other as a result of conference and wider reading; (9) the enormously increased information peoples of all countries have about each other because of the improved facilities for travel, intercourse, printing, and schools; and (10) the inevitable disregarding or obliteration of sectarian walls in connection with the work of Christian unity societies, and the various Christian co-operative religious, moral, and social service organizations.

In the presence of such mighty agencies as those just mentioned, ignorance, prejudice, narrowness, lack of sympathy, intolerance, bitterness, hate and their attendant evils, must inevitably, though probably slowly, be driven from the field. Schism is fostered by any or all of these evils. The progress of general education, along the lines indicated, is an exceedingly powerful aid to the re-union of Christendom. It has been said that you cannot hate what you truly know or fully understand. What bitterness is founded on ignorance!

(1) CRITICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND THE SPIRITUALIZATION OF THE SCRIPTURES

We know that many schisms had a Scriptural basis. We ought also to realize that reverent, constructive Biblical criticism is resulting in the exaltation of the inward spirit of the Scripture, bringing Christ and his teaching to the front and interpreting the whole of the Sacred Word in the light of Him and in His spirit. In supporting our contention concerning that progress of general education, especially as represented in the critical study of the Bible, we shall see that it has had, and is having, a very significant effect in causing Protestantism to return to its original genius, namely, the seeking of the truth without hindrance, and the emphasizing of inward spiritual experience as the guide to spiritual interpretation and as the true instrument for the discernment of final authority. It is untrue to Protestantism for any of its leaders in this present day to take a hostile attitude toward the progress of true education of any sort, including that which is gained by the scientific study of the Scriptures, even though that study should result in the shattering of many proof texts which now form the basis of much denominational dogma. In establishing this assertion let us first investigate the teaching and spirit of such men as Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli.

These early reformers held no theory of literal interpretation of the Bible as a basis for their moral and religious convictions. They

accepted the authority of the Sacred Word. That was the common heritage of Christendom from the ancient Church. They arrived at their convictions in morals and polity by the way of moral discernment and religious experience. They sought no external authority either in the written Word or in the Church. They avoided either, as such, and like trumpeters of God preached out of their inward spiritual experience as did the Apostle Paul. In the light of their inward revelations they handled and evaluated the Scriptures. No one thought then, as became true later, of identifying the Word of God absolutely with any collection or canon of Biblical texts.

In the Preface to Luther's translation of the Bible he wrote: "Christ is the Master, the Scriptures are the servants. Here is the true touchstone for testing all the books: we must see whether they work the works of Christ or not. The book which does not teach Christ is not apostolic, were Saint Peter or Saint Paul its writer. On the other hand, the book which preaches Christ is apostolic, were its author Judas, Annas, Pilate, or Herod . . . John awards little space to the acts of Christ, much to his words. The other Gospels say much of his acts, less of his teaching. This is why the former is the chief Gospel, unique, most precious, the one to be preferred above all the others. In fact, the Gospel of John and his First Epistle, the Epistles of Paul, particularly those to the Romans, the Galatians, and the Ephesians, and the First Epistle of Peter, these are the books which show thee Christ, and teach thee all that is good and necessary for thee to know, though thou shouldest never hear or see other books. As for the others, the Epistle of James is a veritable Epistle of straw, for there is nothing Evangelical in it." In speaking of the book of Revelation, of Hebrews, and of some of the Old Testament books, particularly the Prophets, he says: "Without any doubt, the prophets had studied the books of Moses, and the late ones those of their predecessors, and, filled with the spirit of God, they committed their thoughts to writing. But this is not to say that these doctors, scrutinizing the Scriptures, did not sometimes find wood, hay, and stubble, and not always gold, silver, or diamonds. Nevertheless, the essential abides and the fire consumes the rest."[1]

John Calvin doubted the authenticity of Second Peter and expressed quite freely his belief as to the discrepancies of the Gospel narratives and the doubtful character of the Revelation of St. John, which is a book upon which he never commented. According to Sabatier,[2] Calvin did not build his whole system of Church polity and doctrine upon the Scriptures as an external authority beyond which there is no recourse. He insisted that the final criteria and principles are ascertained by the inward attestation of the Spirit.

Zwingli said: "Thou seest where the cold cavils of the Papists and the priests will end when they affirm that the meaning of the celestial Word depends upon the judgment of man. Thou canst never know what is the Church which will never err nor decay, if thou recognizest not the Word of God who constituted the Church.

August Sabatier, *Religions of Authority*, etc., 1904, pp. 162–163.

[1] Sabatier, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–163.

This Word has the virtue of giving faith in the Church, it can remove her errors, it permits the acceptance of no other (human) word. Only pious hearts know this, for a faith does not depend on the discussions of men, but has its seat, and rests itself invisibly in the soul. It is an *experience* which everyone may have. It is not a doctrine, a question of knowledge, for we see the most learned men who are ignorant of this thing which is the most salutary of all."[1] Thus Zwingli makes the inward experience, and not the affirmations of the " Papists and the priests," the final authority for testing the truth of the Scripture.

The spiritual freedom of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli in their attitude toward and use of the Bible was not, however, long to be the characteristic of the Reformation movement. Their successors found themselves hemmed in by the Romans on the one hand, and the Anabaptists and Illuminati on the other. How were they to furnish the faithful with a rule for guidance as between the Middle-Ages traditions of the Catholics, and the immoralities, the excesses, and the impractical dreams of these pre-Reformation sects? The exigencies of those years drove them to grasp the Scriptures and assert that these, literally interpreted, constituted the infallible rule of faith and guide to conduct.

It will be well, as we now approach the formation of the Protestant dogma of the infallibility of the Bible, to examine the ideas of the preceding centuries as to the inspiration of sacred writings. All the great world religions that have any sacred literature explain the existence of the same by inspiration. The Jewish reverence for the Law and the Prophets and the other Old Testament Texts was so great, extending even to the Hebrew characters, that we have great confidence in this day as to the faithfulness of the much-copied manuscripts to the originals. Jesus cited the Old Testament writings very much in the accepted meaning of his day, but in his teaching he persuasively, and even vehemently, emphasized the spirit as against the letter, pointing out the weightier matters of the Law —justice, mercy and truth. He spiritualized all the Commandments, all the Law, and the Prophets. Witness His revolutionary teaching relative to the Sabbath, how it was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. Luke prefaces his Gospel by indicating that he himself deals freely with varying treatises. The Apostle Paul does not hesitate to grant his own fallibility, thus opening the way for us to approach all that he wrote as the words of a fallible man rather than as the *ipse dixit* of God. Paul withstood Peter to the face, not regarding his convictions as being beyond dispute.

Clement of Alexandria regarded philosophy as equal to the Law, and the sages as co-equal to the prophets. The Sibylline Oracles and the prophecies of Isaiah were equally credible to Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch. Tertullian taught that any writing which edifies is inspired. Origen made bold to point out that various portions of the Scriptures are not equally inspired. St. Augustine insisted that the Scripture authors, while they were above the

[1] *Religions of Authority*, etc., op. cit., p. 163, where Sabatier quotes Zwingli, " *De Vera et Falsa Religione*," Vol. II, p. 195.

possibility of error, wrote and spoke of divine things as men, not as God.[1]

Theodore of Mopsuestia placed certain of the Psalms, such as the fifty-first, sixty-fifth, and one hundred and twenty-seventh in the period of the Exile. Ibn Ezra (1070–1138), who was perhaps the most able Jewish scholar of the Middle Ages, pointed out the contradictions in the Pentateuch, but counselled silence on the part of those who were aware of the discrepancies.

A study of the formation of the Canon of Scripture reveals that the lists of books at various periods, and indeed within the same period, vary considerably. The very authority of the Scripture came to be regarded as being posited by the Church. The people believed in the Scripture because of the Church, and not in the Church because of the Scripture. Hence, when we come up to the time of the Reformation we certainly find no predominating theory that the Scriptures were, in themselves, the Word of God. It was the Church that voiced the Word of God. But aside from the declarations of the extreme Romanists as to the infallibility of the Church and the delegated infallibility of the Scriptures, which they made to include all sorts of apocryphal books, pseudoepigraphy, and ecclesiastical writings of various values, there could not be said to exist any warrant or any scientifically critical bases for the later Protestant dogma of the Infallibility of the Bible *per se*.

The doctrine of the Infallibility of the Scriptures became an established part of Protestantism in the Confessions of Faith in the sixteenth century rather than in the early attitude of the Reformers. These Confessions base their authority solely on the Word of God. They include the Confession of Faith presented by Melanchthon at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, and Calvin's First Edition of his *Christian Institutes*, addressed to Francis I. in 1534. They identify the Word of God with the traditional Bible. Despite all their assertions that the Bible is the inspired Word of God, it was Luther who especially thought of this inspiration not as a dogma asserted before approaching the Scripture, not as an *a priori* assumption, but as a conviction arising out of religious experience. Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli began well, but they had not passed from the scene before the latter two, forced by Roman and Anabaptist opposition, took the first steps which should lead to their successors' promulgation of the literal infallibility of the Bible.

Step by step the leaders of Protestantism declared the infallibility of the received text; that God, who gave the Word to man, would not permit it to be changed; that it is infallible even to the vowels and consonants; and that God's message to men was made both flesh and Scripture to such an extent that to read the Word has the same effect on the soul as does participation in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

There was already a Roman Catholic Scholasticism; there now arose a Protestant Scholasticism. The Bible was held to be God's letter to men as to matter, form, ideas and words. The human

[1] Sabatier, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–170.

agents in its writing simply held the pen while God dictated, yes, even while He moved the pen itself. According to the Scholastics of Protestantism, there were three moments in God's dictation ; the divine command to take up the pen and write (*impulsus ad scribendum*) ; the revelation of the subject matter (*suggestus rerum*) ; and the suggestion of the words to be employed (*suggestio verborum*). For the total result God alone was responsible, and He, being all-wise and all-holy, would not allow any mistake, omission, or addition.

That the foregoing doctrine of the absolute infallibility of the Bible became the Protestant substitute for the doctrine of Church (and later Papal) Infallibility, is patent to any who read the writings of the so-called Conservatives since the middle of the sixteenth century. The doctrine came to a climax in the middle of the nineteenth century, and is still persisting in the teachings of certain literalists. It is this very attitude, coupled with the Protestant principles of the universal priesthood of believers, and the right of each individual to think for himself, that has been the chief cause for many of the hundreds of divisions of Protestantism, each with its peculiarly emphasized Scripture texts.

For the removal of this chief cause of division among Protestants, and sooner or later for an even more drastic upheaval in the midst of the traditional foundations of the Catholic Churches, scientific scholarly research, as already indicated, has been, and will yet be, the happy instrument. The history of this critical scholarship movement in the more recent centuries is of great interest, but we can do no more than record here some of the leading names connected therewith ; make a few passing references, concluding with a summary of the main contributions of the movement. Amongst those scholars who have made the most outstanding contributions are : Richard Simon (1638–1712) ; Jean Astruc (*b.* 1638) ; Gottfried Eichhorn (*c.a.* 1780) ; Lessing (1739–1761) ; Alexander Geddes (1737–1802) ; Ilgen (*c.a.* 1798) ; de Wette (*c.a.* 1805) ; Heinrich Ewald ; Edward Reuss (*c.a.* 1834) ; Hegel (1770–1831) ; K. H. Graf (*c.a.* 1866) ; Abram Kuenen (*c.a.* 1869) ; Duhm (*c.a.* 1875) ; Julius Wellhausen (*c.a.* 1883) ; and Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834).

Of the foregoing, Simon, the French Oratorian, is credited with having been the real forerunner of modern Biblical criticism, while Jean Astruc, a French Court physician and devout Roman Catholic, is regarded as having been the actual founder thereof. It was Lessing who pioneered in asserting the right of freedom of thought and expression in theology. Geddes was a Scotch priest, schooled in Paris, who was the first of modern critics to appear in the British Isles. Reuss, by his intuitions, came to the conviction that the true historical sequence of the Old Testament writing should be first the Prophets, then the Law, and finally the Psalms. In Hegel we recognize the philosopher of evolution, and in Graf one who actually developed the theory of the proper historical sequence of the Old Testament writings as arrived at intuitionally by Reuss. Abram Kuenen was the Dutch theologian who, in his *Religion of Israel*, first elaborated the Hegelian theory of evolution with respect to Israel's history, and set forth a " Development Theory " which was

an advance upon the ideas of Graf, or the " Grafian Hypothesis." It is this hypothesis, with certain modifications, which is generally accepted to-day by the majority of Biblical scholars in the Protestant world. In Wellhausen we have the master mind who so handles the subject of Biblical criticism that he placed it at the very centre of theological and religious thought rather than in a position of secondary importance.

Special tribute must be paid to Friedrich Schleiermacher. It is to him, more than to any other modern scholar, that we owe the development of the idea that religion is essentially of the inward spirit. " With him,"[1] writes Sabatier, " the Protestant conscience finally passed the strait which separates the theology of authority from the theology of experience." . . . " Holy Scripture could no longer be the foundation of faith ; it became an auxiliary, a means of grace. In the doctrinal system built up by the dialectic of Schleiermacher, the Bible no longer takes its place in the foundation, but on the summit of the edifice. . . . To sum up, the authority of the Holy Scriptures cannot be the object of faith, nor can it even be the basis of faith in Christ ; on the contrary, it is faith in Christ which makes the Christian and which alone makes it possible for him to recognize the peculiar authority of Scripture. Formerly, men went from the Bible to Christ ; henceforth, men will go from Christ to the Bible. Faith in Christ, a life in communion with Christ, the transformation of our evil self by His word and spirit, are effects in the exclusively moral order, and immediately justified to each conscience in which they have taken place. The Bible, the canon, and the books which constitute it, are historic and literary phenomena which it is neither legitimate nor possible to withdraw from the researches and authority of criticism, exegesis, and history."

Schleiermacher and de Wette were inspired in their new theology by the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, but the great mass of the people was untouched by these new conceptions of which it was totally unaware. As in England, " Puseyism " and the Oxford Movement supported Catholicism and traditional orthodoxy as a sort of haven for those who could not escape the ill effects of Deism, so in Germany, Lutheran orthodoxy, with the aid of Pietism, fell back on the Confessions of Faith of the sixteenth century, and upon the infallibility of the Bible. But in neither country did the guardians of orthodoxy in Protestantism realize that they were resorting to expedients more harmful than the evils they sought to combat. They were trying to do just what Jesus said wise men will not do, namely, to place new wine in old bottles. In this case some external, fixed authorities —as, for example, the Infallibility of the Church or the Bible, literally accepted—were the " old bottles " being used. Of these two beliefs, the Infallibility of the Bible was the more fixed and, in many ways, the more uncompromising in the face of suggested changes, though, of course, unlike the Church in a far less brutal and despotic enforcement of the uncompromising attitude of its would-be defenders.

[1] Sabatier, *op. cit.*, p. 210 *ff.*

Before finishing our examination of the progress of education as with regard to a scientific and more spiritual apprehension of the Scripture, which has slowly but surely removed the excuse for the existence of the numerous denominations resulting from the over-emphasis of certain texts, it will be proper to mention certain other participators in this movement. In England, Professor S. R. Driver, of Oxford, in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*,[1] and W. Robertson Smith by his *The Old Testament and the Jewish Church*,[2] have given real aid to a more correct understanding of the Old Testament Scripture. Such works as *The Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*, *The Encyclopædia Biblica* and *The International Critical Commentary*, together with many others of a similar type, are rendering many of the old-time theological quarrels quite ridiculous. Bishop J. B. Lightfoot, Dr. B. F. Westcott, Dr. W. Sanday and others have rendered recent aid to the cause of mild Conservatism.[3]

In the United States Dr. C. H. Briggs, Professor H. P. Smith, Professor C. H. Toy, Professor Hinkley G. Mitchell and Professor Borden P. Bowne were pioneers in the very great work of furthering a definite spiritual understanding of the Bible. The majority of those whom we have mentioned specialized in the study of the Old Testament. In the field of New Testament exposition we are indebted to such men as David Frederick Strauss, who, in 1835, published his *Life of Jesus*[4]; Albert Ritschl, who insisted on the religious value of the New Testament despite the boldness of criticism; and to Holtzmann, Bousset, Jülicher, Harnack and Schmiedal, all of whom were Ritschlian, belonging to what is called the scientific evolutionary school.

According to the articles in discussion of Criticism in *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, it would appear that to a considerable extent the scientific study of the Scripture is permitted and encouraged by the Western Catholic Church. Any such claim is denied by the Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus* of Pope Leo XIII., issued November 18th, 1893; the Apostolic Letter, *Vigilantiæ*, establishing the Biblical Commission of October 30th, 1902; the pronouncements of this Biblical Commission, February 13th, 1905, June 23rd, 1905, and June 27th, 1906; the Papal decree of the Inquisition, *Lamentabili*, July 3rd, 1907; and the Encyclical, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, of September 8th, 1907, all of which announced views that were extremely conservative and violently opposed to scientific

[1] Published 1891.

[2] Published 1880.

[3] To these should be added F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, Edinburgh, 1906; J. Armitage Robinson, *The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel*, London, 1908; J. Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, Edinburgh, 1911; A. S. Peake, *Introduction to the New Testament*; Gunkel, *Die Schriften des N.T.*, 1909; Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1909; and B. W. Bacon, *The Beginning of the Gospel Story*, 1909; and *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, 1910.

[4] The author does not imply the acceptance of any or all of the contentions of the scholars listed above. Those are indicated who, making use of the scientific method of study, have made more or less of a contribution to the spiritualization of the Scriptures, and to the removal of the practice of building up separate denominations by the use of proof texts.

investigation and to the very best conclusions of careful modern thought. The very fact, however, that "Criticism" is so ably discussed in *The Catholic Encyclopædia* indicates that, despite the official pronouncement against scientific criticism and modern Bible study, there must be a real critical movement within the Roman fold. Sooner or later it will find expression in the modernization of that ancient Communion, thus making a further very profound contribution to the cause of world-wide Christian Unity.

At this point in our discussion, though not directly connected with the history or the analysis of the contributions constructive Christian scholarship has made in removing the grounds or excuses for many existing Church divisions, attention should be called to the fact that when the very highest scholarship is involved denominational distinctions very nearly fade out. As an illustration of this fact, let us examine the make-up of the groups of scholars who were chosen to construct the English Revised Version of the Scriptures. The same contention holds good when it comes to the creation of any worth-while Biblical Commentary, or Religious Encyclopædia.

When, in 1870, both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury unanimously passed a resolution that a Committee of both Houses should be appointed to confer with a similar Committee of the Northern Province of York, thus actually launching the movement which led to the English Revised Version,[1] the decision was soon made that the group of men to be chosen for this work were not necessarily to be made up entirely of Anglicans. In the final list of those selected for the revision of the Old Testament, besides noted Church of England scholars, there were to be found the names of such Free Churchmen as the Rev. J. Birrel, Professor of Oriental Languages at St. Andrew's; Dr. G. Douglas, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Glasgow; the Rev. J. D. Geden, Professor of Hebrew, Wesleyan College, Didsbury, Manchester; the Rev. W. Robertson Smith, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Aberdeen, later Professor of Arabic at Cambridge; and the Rev. D. H. Weir, Professor of Oriental Languages, Glasgow.[2] Amongst those selected for the revision of the New Testament we find the names of such Evangelicals as Dr. S. Newth, Professor of Classics, later Principal of New College, London; Dr. A. Roberts, later Professor at St. Andrew's; and Dr. David Brown, Professor of Divinity and Principal, Free Church College, Aberdeen.

Working in conjunction with the foregoing groups, there were the Old Testament and New Testament Companies of scholars in America.[3] In the former Company there were three Congregationalists, one Baptist, two Reformed, one Episcopalian, two Presbyterians, and one Methodist. In the latter Company were three Episcopalians, three Methodists, one Unitarian, two Baptists, four Congregationalists, three Presbyterians, and one Reformed. In the case of both the

[1] New Testament finished May 17th, 1881; Old Testament, May 19th, 1885.

[2] Philip Schaff, *The Revision of the English Version of the Holy Scriptures*, New York, Harper Brothers, 1873.

[3] W. F. Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, revised and enlarged ed., London, 1911, p. 244 *ff.*

English and American revisers there was the utmost harmony within their respective groups. The division as between the two groups, which led to the American scholars publishing the American Revised Version in 1901, was a division arising out of technical points of translation and not out of any differences of doctrine or polity. In the realm of pure scholarship, where there is the sole aim of finding and revealing the truth, denominational distinctions are reduced to a minimum, if not entirely eliminated.

We have dealt at length in this chapter with the history of the progress of Biblical education as furthered by Biblical criticism. We have also just noted an impressive example of how pure scholarship practically obliterates sectarian lines. We have purposely emphasized these matters, not only because of their inherent importance, but also because in none of the studies of the problems of Christian Unity have we seen anything but the slightest reference to the contributions of critical scholarship as a factor in promoting unity almost equal to that of the missionary urge. Of course, this factor is thought of as but a part of the more inclusive cause mentioned earlier in the chapter, namely, the advance of general education throughout the world. We turn now to the consideration of further items within the general educational advance which are hastening the day when Church divisions, based on ignorance and prejudice, shall have been done away.

(2) CHRISTIAN RE-UNION PHILOSOPHIES

Mention has been made of the increasing acceptance of philosophies which form a more favourable basis for a re-union theology. Let us now examine this fact more closely. We have already paid tribute to Friedrich Schleiermacher, who, inspired by the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, became himself the philosopher of religion as being essentially of the inward spirit. All the philosophers, who had either inspired the spirit of unreserved scientific investigation, in the face sometimes of bitter opposition on the part of Churchmen, and who, in some cases, themselves engaged in such investigation, were builders of the necessary philosophic foundation for theological irenics. Polemics, as a characteristic of systematic theology, in the midst of the greater Protestant denominations, and even as between the Protestant and Catholic groups, are no longer in special vogue, except among the extreme radicals, or those who refuse to accept the constructive, positive, helpful findings of modern scholarship. Amongst the latter we still find hectic, heated and sometimes disgracefully bitter attacks upon every belief except that which they choose to hold. They charge all who disagree with them as being latitudinarian, that is, as having no particular regard as to what they do believe. It will be a happy day for Christendom in general when the theologians who have laid hold upon the new revelations of the truth shall more and more disregard all the attacks of the old-time narrow denominationalists, and shall steadily labour together to construct a comprehensive, all-inclusive, genuinely Christian,

thoroughly cosmopolitan, splendidly pietistic, warmly Evangelical, and wholesomely Catholic Christian union theology.

Baron Friedrich von Hügel,[1] noted Roman Catholic layman and philosopher, author and lecturer of international repute, stands forth amongst the leaders of his faith and, indeed, amongst the leaders of all faiths, as one of the most resourceful and able thinkers who has ever proximated the production of a Christian re-union philosophy. Surprise has been expressed that one who showed such appreciation and understanding of the Churches other than his own should have escaped treatment such as was meted out to Dr. Döllinger and others. Neither he nor his writings suffered molestation. For this reason, until both he and they are repudiated by the Roman Church, we are warranted to look upon von Hügel's philosophy of religion as being at least tacitly accepted by that Church.

His philosophy is that of Evangelical Catholic mysticism. During his lifetime he was very widely read and very highly appreciated. That appreciation will continue to deepen in the years to come. An adequate review of his philosophy is impossible here, but a slight glimpse of some of his viewpoints will not be out of place. After giving an extraordinarily fair appreciation of Martin Luther,[2] with due praise for his emphasis upon the formal sides of the moral and spiritual life, such as sincerity, conscientiousness, and fidelity to the light, he proceeds by saying that we need to give due attention to the abundant many-sided rich life of nature. The Stoics and Kant, he considers, were hopelessly deficient in these respects. Then, making reference to the Spanish Jesuit Cardinal, Juan de Lugo, who wrote in Rome under the observation of Pope Urban VIII. at the end of the seventeenth century, and who stated that God gives light, sufficient for its salvation, to every soul that attains to the use of reason in this life, von Hügel gives his approval to the theory. He held that the various philosophical schools and religious bodies of mankind all contain and hand down, amid various degrees of human error and distortion, *some* truth, some gleams and elements of divine truth. Such a view, in his estimation, admirably combines a sense of man's profound need of tradition, of institutions, of training, with full justice to the importance of the dispositions and acts of the individual soul, and, above all, with a keen sense of the need of the special graces offered by God to the several souls. Such a view merely claims that " everywhere there is *some* truth ; that the truth comes originally from God ; and that this truth, great or little, is usually mediated to the soul, neither by a spiritual miracle nor by the sheer efforts of individuals, but by traditions, schools, and Churches. We thus attain an outlook generous, rich, elastic ; yet also graduated, positive, unitary and truly Catholic."[3]

According to von Hügel's view the Church is a visible institution, which has to be administered by human beings. He criticized the Popes who did not respect the specific rights and legitimate autonomy

[1] See his essays and addresses on " The Philosophy of Religion," 1921, J. M. Dent & Sons, London.

[2] *Essays and Addresses*, von Hügel, *op. cit.*, p. 244 *ff.*, and 248 *ff.*

[3] *Idem*, p. 266 *ff.*

of the State and of Science, as, for example, in the treatment of Galileo. The Church, as a visible institution, tends to ignore, or at least to minimize gradually, the degrees and kinds of truth always more or less present in other religious bodies such as may possess long duration and ethical seriousness. Instead of conquering the world by dying, the Church adopted killing. Since the advent of Historical Criticism, the Church has shown little comprehension of, and at times an actual hostility to, disinterested scholarship with its serious investigation and candid enunciation of the successive stages of the human occasion and the surface motives traceable in the history of the Bible and of the Church.

Von Hügel set down seven sets of insight and action, of suffering and temperament, which are involved in the fullest and most fruitful functioning of Churchmanship. Coming as they do from a devout Roman Catholic, from one of that Communion whose attitude relative to Christian re-union is seemingly uncompromising, these advices are all the more interesting and valuable. They are as follows: (1) Deliberate recognition and daily acceptance of the limitations and sacrifices imposed on the single soul's direct individual claims, as the inevitable consequences and costs of this soul's appurtenance to any community, as, *e.g.*, Church membership. (2) A Church, worthy of the name, can never itself be a society for the promotion of research. A Church cannot exist without certain credal affirmations, with their inevitable delimitations. (3) Discrimination between facts and principles which rightly claim our absolute internal assent, and deductions and details, environing these facts and principles which call only for our conditional belief and practical conformity. (4) Recognition, persistent, frank and full of elements of real truth and goodness in all ethical religions at various periods of their growth. (5) Recognition, as regards Christianity, of a large element of truth in what can roughly be called "the Sect-type," yet also of a real injustice on the part of this type in so far as it is hostile to "the Church-type." (6) A sensitive historical, a penetratingly philosophical and, above all, a delicately spiritual appreciation of the humble beginnings of Judaism and Christianity, and a sympathetic understanding of their imperfect methods. Thus we must approach pseudonymous writings, the throwing back of the present into the past, or forward into the future. (7) There is but one God operating through all the stages of development and apprehension. Continuing, von Hügel writes: "There is nothing whatever to show that Jesus implied, or would desire, a multiplicity of Churches; and St. Paul, the Fourth Gospel, and the great Church passages in the Synoptists, teach with full emphasis and deep devotion the sacred oneness of the Church and picture Jesus as solemnly founding the One Church, for all ages and races."[1] . . . "For myself, I do not doubt that the day may—the day will—come when Rome (what is true in the Protestant instincts, even more than in the Protestant objections, having been fully satisfied) will again unite and head Christians generally, and this in a temper and with im-

[1] Von Hügel, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

plications more elastic than those of the later Middle Ages and especially than those of the post-Reformation times. The Visibility of the Unity is doubtless here the central difficulty; yet nothing which falls deliberately short of Visible Unity can or should be the goal."[1]

Without attempting to review other philosophies which would be the proper basis for a re-union theology, I would simply state that this philosophy and theology must make adequate provision for due regard of the whole personality of individual men, of Christ, and of the Father. It must not be divorced from empirical experience nor must it contradict an idealistic monotheism. It must be personalistic, with the emphasis upon service and love, rather than upon abstract theory or anything that is purely scholastic.

(3) THE CONTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO UNITY

The progress of the science of religious and social psychology has brought to us such an increased understanding of the phenomena of the religious life that the reality and wholesomeness, as well as the normality, of a religious experience is no longer the conviction of a few "salvationalist sects," but a definite part of the teaching and preaching Evangel of practically all the major denominations. The emphasis of certain Churches upon religious experience, once cried down as dangerous emotionalism and enthusiasm, is now shared by all the Evangelical groups, and is not scorned by the Catholics. There is no longer the old-time abhorrence of having anything to do with Evangelism, for, owing to the sober investigations of the religious psychologists, such as Professor William James, Professor William MacDougall, Professor G. Stanley Hall, Dr. E. G. Starbuck and many others, the psychology of the varieties of religious experience is much better understood both by the clergy and the laity. We see that no one denomination can, or ought to, be accused of having a monopoly in the very important work of leading people into a wholesome experience of the redeeming power of God as revealed in Christ. Then, too, such psychologists as Professor William MacDougall, in their investigations and findings in the field of social psychology, all make definite contributions towards the removal of the former convictions that social groups, howsoever steeped in the tradition and in the belief that their Communion or fellowship is God's very own, really have a human, instinctive foundation—a foundation that very possibly is rooted in selfish soil. True science is bound to remove all these prejudices and iniquities that have been nourished and sheltered by the supposition and pretence that they were sacred, when really, in the light of the whole truth, they are viciously contrary to the God of truth, morality and love. This being true in the field of religious and social psychology, Christian re-union has very powerful allies in these comparatively modern sciences.

[1] Von Hügel, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

(4), (5), (6), (7) CHRISTIAN UNITY—INTERDENOMINATIONAL RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, NON- AND INTERDENOMINATIONAL RELIGIOUS JOURNALS

One must express real appreciation of the very pronounced contribution being made, even though the movement is still in its infancy, by the rapid extension of interdenominational enterprises in the important work of religious education. Denominational Sunday Schools, for the most part, probably tend to increase denominational loyalties. This is especially true of the Roman Catholic parochial schools. But, amongst the Protestant Evangelicals there is now an ever-increasing amount of interdenominational effort in the way of union teacher training classes, religious worker training conferences, text books for instruction, community programmes of religious education, and union popular assemblies, all for the purpose of extending religious knowledge, particularly knowledge of the Bible. This union effort also applies to the larger organizations in the field of Biblical and missionary education, such as the various Sunday School unions, the World Sunday School Association, and the union Boards of men and women in different countries who prepare the Mission Study manuals.

All of the foregoing constitute a very effective form of the study of comparative religions, whether religions be considered in their Christian denominational divisions or in the greater world divisions, including faiths other than that of Christianity. Many colleges and universities have elective courses in Comparative Religions, while most of the Theological Seminaries require such courses, with not a few making provision for an appreciative study of the distinctive histories of the denominations. The latter is especially true in the union Theological Seminaries, the increased number of which in the " home " fields is more than matched by the greater increase of the same in the " foreign " fields.[1] That latter increase explains, in part, the rapid progress of Christian re-union movements in these distant or new fields, while in turn such institutions are, in some instances, being constituted as a result of the union urge. There are some theological schools which are very Catholic in spirit, although under the auspices of one denomination, making no special effort to denominationalize their students. To all such very great credit is due, with the understanding, of course, that they should be none the less positive and zealous as a result of their broad programme. There are many who are quite convinced that denominations are necessary to provide for a wholesome competition, thus spurring the Churches on to a more intensive and vigorous effort. The ideals and challenge of a United Church far surpass any narrow denominational challenge. The distinctive contributions of the various denominations should be considered and emphasized in any case.

It was not much more than a century ago that many of the major Evangelical denominations had no religious journals of their own.

[1] See p. 270 *ff.* in text.

These publications have each made valuable contributions to the work of the Communions supporting them. Some of them have been edited and published on such a high plane that they have won large numbers of regular readers from other Churches. In more recent years we have witnessed the rise of interdenominational and non-denominational religious journals. Denominational loyalties are still so strong, and the problems of financing a publication which has few paying advertisements, or so little dependable financial backing, are so great that a publication which takes a definite stand for the union of all the denominations presents a real financial problem. Many have started well, but have come to disaster at last through a lack of funds. There are some notable union journals which are, or have been, regularly published, such as *The Constructive Quarterly*,[1] *The Review of the Churches*,[2] *The Christian Century*,[3] *The Christian Union Quarterly*,[4] *The International Review of Missions*,[5] *The Record of Christian Work*,[6] *The British Weekly*,[7] *The Christian World*,[8] *The Christian Endeavour World*,[9] *The Christian Herald*,[10] *The Federal Council Bulletin*,[11] *The International Journal of Religious Education*,[12] *Everyland*,[13] *World Outlook*,[14] and *Association Men*.[15] In Mission Fields where re-union is the order of the day, there are many union Christian publications such as *The Chinese Recorder*, published at Shanghai, and *The Japan Christian Quarterly* of Tokyo.

The total net result of the increasingly wide reading by Church people of the religious journals of other denominations, and of those published definitely on platforms calling for re-union, cannot be fully estimated. What we do know is that denominational programmes, with a selfish or a narrow policy, do not " go over " as they once did. The people are becoming definitely cosmopolitan and pronouncedly interdenominational in their outlook and spirit, though it will probably take many years before various denominational groups will heartily support organic re-union movements in their final stages of actual realization. The removal of deep-seated prejudices cannot be accomplished in a day. Too many re-union enthusiasts fail to recognize this truth.

(9) THE WORLD BECOMING ONE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Since the contributions made toward re-union by conferences and councils, (8), are considered elsewhere in our study,[16] we come now to the consideration of another important element entering into the

[1] Published at New York; no longer issued. [2] Of London. [3] Of Chicago. [4] Of Baltimore, Md. [5] Of London. [6] Of East Northfield, Massachusetts, U.S.A. [7] Of London. [8] Of London. [9] Of Boston, Mass. [10] Of New York. [11] Of New York. [12] Of Chicago.

[13] Of West Cambridge, Mass. Published by the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions of the Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America. For children.

[14] Published under auspices of Inter-Church World Movement in America; no longer issued.

[15] Of New York.

[16] See pp. 1–16, 59, 126, 174, 230, etc. in text.

progress of general education throughout the world, namely, the vastly increased information the peoples of all countries have with regard to each other because of improved facilities for travel, intercourse, printing and schools. The truth of this is so evident that any attempt to explain in detail would be a reflection upon the intelligence of the reader. There was a time when we could all live calmly within our selected groups in isolated sections of the world. That can no longer be done. The world is one neighbourhood. Each year sees this becoming increasingly true. Such a thing as a race, nation, or denomination living in exclusiveness or separation, is more and more being accentuated as non-Christian in spirit and programme. As the races and nations of the world need to co-operate with each other and to unite in a programme looking to the realization, for the whole of humanity, of all the comforts and blessings that racial and national organization is supposed to guarantee to all the people, so likewise, for even more cogent reasons, since Christianity is supposed to be the means for the redemption of society, Christendom needs therefore to repent of the wickedness of schism and to unite as Christ prayed that it should.

The World War (1914–1918), with the impulse it gave to the improvement of facilities for travel and communication on land and sea, and through the air, together with all that it did to change the usual channels of trade and the customary exchange of international courtesies, has proved to be that which has especially hastened the unification of the world's life in spite of the moral and spiritual discords which it engendered. And in this lies both the tragedy and the challenge. For the world to be made to realize that it is physically one neighbourhood and, at the same time, for it to be filled with moral and spiritual chaos, makes the demand for a unified Christendom all the more imperative.

(10) CO-OPERATIVE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND SERVICE, AND CHRISTIAN UNITY SOCIETIES AS CONTRIBUTORS TO THE ELIMINATION OF SECTARIAN DIVISIONS

(*a*) THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AND UNITY

The Sunday School in its modern form is generally regarded as having been "founded" by Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, England, in July, 1780. At least, as the editor of a journal of fairly wide circulation, he was the first to make the Sunday School an institution that was known, desired, and rapidly extended. Starting as a school for ragged street urchins who met on Sunday afternoons and to whom other subjects besides the Bible were taught, it later came to be a denominational institution in which the children were very properly, for the most part, inculcated with the traditions, history, and viewpoints of a particular denomination. All of this is wise

and Christian when not pressed beyond the bounds of truth, love, and world-wide outlook. As a narrow denominational institution, the Sunday School could make little contribution to Christian Unity.

The " Society for Managing Sunday Schools," which was founded in Glasgow in 1787, was succeeded by the " Glasgow Sunday School Union " on December 23rd, 1795. It was not until April 27th, 1899, that the " Scottish National Sabbath School Union " was instituted, all the Protestant denominations eventually joining in it. The " Society for the Institution and Support of First Day or Sunday Schools," founded in 1790, was also made up of representatives from various denominations. In 1816 the New York, and in 1817 the Philadelphia Sunday School Unions were organized, both being inter-denominational. In 1824, members of various Churches formed the American Sunday School Union. Its objects were " to concentrate the efforts of Sabbath School Associations in different sections of the country ; to strengthen the hands of friends of pious instruction on the Lord's Day ; to disseminate useful information ; to circulate moral and religious publications in every part of the land ; and to endeavour to plant a Sunday School wherever there is a population." Under the auspices of this Union, the first national Convention in the United States was held in 1832.

In 1856 we find the beginnings of State and County Sunday School Associations in the United States. In these the schools of many denominations were linked together for conference and co-operation. In 1861 the first Interdenominational Sunday School Teachers' Institutes were held. In 1869 the American Sunday School Union, in its National Convention, created a permanent Executive Committee, out of which came, in 1782, the International Association. In that year they adopted the National Uniform Sunday School Lessons. From 1869 to 1914 the American Sunday School Union met triennially. Since 1914 it has met quadrennially. The contribution thus made to unity amongst the Sunday School workers of the Churches involved is beyond calculation.

In 1875 the Convention of the Union, by the presence and participation of delegates from England and other countries, took on an international aspect.

The Scottish National Sunday School Union was founded on April 27th, 1899. This Union has brought together for religious education purposes all the denominations of Scotland. In England there is a similar Sunday School Union whose support and control is in the hands of the members of many Churches. The local, national, and international Sunday School interests are now so organized that there is the World's Sunday School Association.

From July 1st to 6th, 1889, the First World's Sunday School Convention was held in London, England. There were nine hundred and four registered delegates ; three hundred and sixty from the United States, sixty-nine from Canada, four hundred and forty from Great Britain and Ireland, and thirty-five from other countries. The Sunday School enrolment of the world, as reported at that time, was nineteen million, seven hundred and fifteen thousand, seven

hundred and eighty-one. The outstanding result was the organization of India for Sunday School work.

The Second World's Sunday School Convention was held at St. Louis, Missouri, on August 30th to September 5th, 1893. At this time the World's and International Associations held a union conference, the former's occupying the last three days. The joint enrolment was eight hundred and eighty-two, fifty-five being from Great Britain, Germany, India, Sweden and Burma. The chief accomplishment was the organization of Japan, Korea, China and the Philippines for Sunday School work.

England entertained the Third World's Sunday School Association in London from July 11th to 16th, 1898. There were one thousand, one hundred and fifty-four delegates enrolled, two hundred and ninety-nine of whom were from North America, representing thirty States and Provinces. Great Britain was most numerously represented, with delegates from Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Italy, Switzerland and Holland also present. The chief accomplishment was in connection with the development of the Sunday School work of Continental Europe.

(*b*) THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION; THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION; THE WORLD'S STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION; THE AMERICAN STUDENT VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT; THE WORLD'S CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOUR SOCIETY; THE SALVATION ARMY; AND SOCIAL SERVICE OR REFORM SOCIETIES.

The state of religion in England in 1841 was rather discouraging. The reaction from the Napoleonic Wars involved much of immorality and an alarming amount of carelessness and deadness in the life of the Churches. There was little zeal to "go out and compel them to come in." The Oxford Movement was then at its height, but its quickening and reviving spirit only reached the few Catholics who were interested. The Evangelicals of all Churches were intensely aroused thereby. Their uniting to organize the Evangelical Alliance is described elsewhere. But even they were not bringing helpful Christian nurture and service to the young men engaged in the different shops and trades of the nation.

George Williams,[1] a worker in a drapery establishment in Bridgwater, entered the mercantile house of Hitchcock & Rogers on Ludgate Hill, near St. Paul's, London. Here he found eighty clerks[2] who needed much that a virile, wholesome Christianity has to offer. Williams succeeded in organizing them on a modest scale into a Bible class, missionary society and literary club. On June 6th, 1844, an Association was formed under the name of "The Society for Improving the Spiritual Condition of the Young Men Engaged in

[1] *The Father of the Red Triangle*, J. E. H. Williams, revised and enlarged, 1918.

[2] *Christian Unity—Its Principles and Possibilities*, by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, Association Press, N.Y., 1921. This book is a very valuable contribution to the subject.

the Drapery and Other Trades." Of the twelve members enrolled that day three were Anglicans, three Baptists, three Congregationalists and three Methodists. The name was soon changed to " The Young Men's Christian Association." Previous to this organization, Williams' employer, Mr. Hitchcock, had extended help, and the interest had grown and spread to other firms in the same trade. Nearly one hundred and sixty members were at the meeting of November 8th, 1844, when a report containing twelve rules was read.

The Young Men's Christian Association in America had its start when an Association was formed in Boston in December, 1851. It attained a membership of one thousand two hundred the first year.

As far back as 1678 Robert Nelson had attempted some such organization as the Young Men's Christian Association, but it came to an end during the decay of religion under the Georges. In 1824, David Nasmith inaugurated young men's societies that " he might enclose within the fold the youth of all conditions and of every phase of faith,"[1] but by 1839 he had resolved to start no more. The Y.M.C.A., however, has expanded from its beginnings until it encircles the earth.[2] It is not an ecclesiastical body in itself. It includes members of the Churches and unattached Christians banded together for un-denominational service. In thousands of centres the Y.M.C.A. is the common meeting-ground, the clearing-house, and the co-operation headquarters of the local Churches. Prominent clergy and laity make up its body of leaders. Its officers frequently assemble the representatives of the Churches for conference. The total contribution of the Association to the cause of Christian unity is beyond all calculation.

The Young Women's Christian Association has made a similar, though somewhat slighter, contribution to the modern Church tendency to co-operate. This Association, or something like it, was in the plan of George Williams. But it was not until November, 1858, that an organization called the " Ladies' Christian Association " was formed at a meeting of young women and those interested in their welfare, held in the University of New York. The first " Branch " of this new Association was organized at Boston in 1859. In 1866 the Boston group took the name, " Young Women's Christian Association." In 1894 the World Association was instituted.

The first student Y.M.C.A. was organized in 1858, and at the International Convention of that organization at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1877, plans were made for an intercollegiate Christian movement. Those plans were carried out soon thereafter. The Y.M.C.A., as started by George Williams, required that to be a member the candidate must accept Jesus Christ as his divine Lord and Saviour, while in the Boston organization " Active members " were only those who were members of Evangelical Churches. About the year 1920 the Student Department of the American Y.M.C.A.

[1] J. E. H. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 106, 107.

[2] In 1861, at a Convention of the Y.M.C.A., the " United States Christian Commission " was organized to care for the social and religious needs of the men of the North in the American Civil War. Several denominations co-operated in this service.

substituted faith in Jesus Christ for the more formal requirement of Evangelical Church membership. Coupled with this liberalizing move of the Association in its membership requirements, comes an increase of the tendency on the part of many to make it to be their Church. Indeed, there are some who see in the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations their ideal of a comprehensive union Church in which all denominations might well amalgamate.

The World's Student Christian Federation was organized in 1895 under the leadership of Dr. John R. Mott, a layman, who is regarded by many as the greatest Ecumenical Christian leader of modern times. The Federation represented a close union of five Christian student movements: The Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association Movement of the United States and Canada; the British College Christian Union; the German University Christian Alliance; the Scandinavian University Christian Movement; and the Student Christian Movement of Mission Lands. During the first year of its existence the following Student Movements were added to the Federation: of India and Ceylon; of Australia and New Zealand; of China, Korea and Hong Kong; and of the Japanese Empire. The Movements of South Africa, France, Netherlands and Switzerland were added by 1898. To-day there are twenty-six hundred Associations with a membership of over two hundred and fifty thousand students. There probably is no other sort of Christian organization or activity which is doing more than the Federation toward the elimination of the old-time denominational distinctions from among the student groups. Into its membership and life are entered those who are communicants in Evangelical and Catholic Church bodies.

The American Student Volunteer Movement, which has led thousands of college-trained young people of all denominations, who have volunteered to go as missionaries, to appreciate cosmopolitan Christian fellowship, was founded in 1886 at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts. Under the leadership of Dwight L. Moody and Luther Wishard, a four weeks' conference was held for prayer, Bible study, consecration, and the study of missions. Before this conference ended, one hundred had volunteered to go to foreign fields. By this group the Student Volunteer Movement was organized. In its quadrennial conferences undergraduate students of both Canada and the United States are brought into contact with world leaders in the missionary movement, irrespective of denominational affiliations.

In the World's Christian Endeavour Society, which had its beginnings in a local Christian Endeavour founded February 2nd, 1881, by the Rev. Francis E. Clark, while pastor of the Williston Congregational Church of Portland, Maine, we have a very important non-denominational, or inter-denominational, force which literally girdles the globe. In 1887 the Society was first introduced into Great Britain. In its local, national and international gatherings it brings together for conference and Christian service the young people and their leaders with membership in various denominations. The result is that all who thus share in its broad fellowship tend to be lifted above the "middle walls of partition," even over and beyond the same.

The Salvation Army, which had its beginnings in a Mission founded by the Rev. William Booth in London's East End in 1865, together with the Volunteers of America which have since separated from the Army, and all similar Evangelical-social Christian groups, have been supported partially by the members of various Churches. In this sense, they may be regarded as Christian co-operation organizations. But the Army and the Volunteers are rapidly becoming simply additional denominations which omit the sacraments.

In 1874 various women's temperance organizations then in the United States were focused in the formation of the Women's Christian Temperance Union with Francis Willard as its first National President. Representatives from this Union had an important part in the foundation of the National British Women's Total Abstinence Union. Thus the first distinctly women's moral and social service organization came into existence. All denominational lines are disregarded in the crusading work of these and similar Unions which are now world-wide in their affiliations.

In the United Kingdom Alliance, founded in 1853 ; in the American Anti-Saloon League, dating back to 1893 ; and in the World League Against Alcoholism, we have the most noted instances of denominational co-operation in a special kind of Christian reform. As the clergy and laity exert themselves in these powerful and efficient societies for the elimination of the alcoholic drink evil, the inevitable result is that all who are thus banded together forget divisions of doctrine and polity as they unite against a common foe. Churches whose members for the most part take a vital, sympathetic interest in the furtherance of this and like reforms, are drawn together by the common call to service, and the mutually-shared convictions. Such Churches will not take kindly to proposals for union with those Communions which either do not or will not work with them in what they believe to be a very Christian crusade.

(*c*) CHRISTIAN UNITY SOCIETIES

The present-day Disciples of Christ, one of the leading Evangelical denominations of the United States, was originally founded, in 1809, by Thomas Campbell and his son, Alexander, with the hope that with the Catholic name of "Disciple" or "Christian," with the Catholic creed of a simple belief in Jesus Christ, with the Catholic book, the Bible, and with the Catholic brotherhood of Disciples of Jesus, all Christians would find in such fellowship a communion that would constitute a Catholic union of all Christians.[1]

At a meeting held in Buffalo on August 17th, 1809, the Rev. Thomas Campbell, with twenty-two others of the fellowship, was asked to make plans for the carrying into effect of the important ends

[1] Dr. Peter Ainslie, in an art. in *The Churches of the Federal Council*, as edited by Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, Sec. of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Dr. Ainslie, as Editor of *The Christian Union Quarterly* of Baltimore, and as a member of the Continuation Committees of the Stockholm and Lausanne Conferences, holds a leading place to-day in Christian unity activities.

of their Association. The result of their conference was the adoption of the *Declaration and Address*, written by Thomas Campbell. This "Declaration" contained thirteen important propositions, which may be summarized as follows: "The Church of God upon earth is essentially, intentionally and constitutionally one;" schisms are sinful; there should be no other articles of faith or terms of communion but such as are expressly taught in the Word of God; party names of all sorts are to be avoided; and for the direction of the Disciples of Christ no other guide is to be taken but that of the Scriptures. If human expedients must be resorted to, it must not be pretended that they have sacred origin.[1]

In the course of time they narrowed into a closed communion Baptist denomination, with a passion to further the same. There were those amongst them, however, who did not lose sight of the vision of the founders. In 1902, when the Disciples of Christ were holding their Annual Convention at Omaha, Nebraska, the Rev. Dr. J. H. Garrison, Editor of *The Christian Evangelist*, introduced a resolution calling for an endorsement of the National Federation of Churches (forerunner of the American Federal Council), as this Federation had just been presented to the Convention by its National Secretary, Dr. E. B. Sanford, Dr. Lord, Editor of *The Standard*, vehemently opposed the motion on the floor of the Convention, and for several years thereafter in his journal.[2] But such leaders as Dr. Garrison, Dr. Herbert L. Willett, Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison,[3] and Dr. Peter Ainslie are bringing their denomination around to a return to the ideals of its founders.

The American Systematic Beneficence Society, significant because of its having been a pioneer in this type of interdenominational co-operation, was founded in 1857. According to the circulars announcing its formation, it was established "by clergy and laity of the various Evangelical denominations," with an object "to promote this great work of systematic beneficence according to the Christian principle." The movement spread to England where a quarterly journal, *The Benefactor*, was published. In the English Report of 1864–1865 we read: "Nor are we to limit the effect of this movement of God to the pecuniary results. . . . Freedom of thought, freedom of worship, freedom of organization, and freedom of contributions, will yet restore the long-lost love and unity of the Redeemer's people."

On September 8th, 1857, the first organization for the promotion of unity among the members of the major Catholic Churches came into existence. This was the "Sodality of Prayer with Association for Promotion of Unity of Christendom" formed by members of the Roman, Eastern, Orthodox and Anglican Churches. The members promised to pray daily for the restoration of visible unity, using the prayers of the appointed forms occuring in the Canons of both the

[1] *Principles of Christian Union, Proposed by the Disciples of Christ*, Christian Board of Publication, St. Louis, 1927.

[2] E. B. Sanford, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–200.

[3] Doctors Willett and Morrison are on the Editorial Staff of *The Christian Century*, of Chicago.

Roman and Hereford Missals. This Sodality and Association fell under the ban of the Pope in 1865, and finally disbanded in 1869.[1]

Members of the American Protestant Episcopal Church founded the Church Unity Society on April 18th, 1864, " to diffuse information concerning the common faith, and to labour for a restoration of the visible union and communion of all believers." This was the first Anglican Unity Society definitely seeking for re-union with all faiths. It adopted a very liberal and forward-looking constitution.[2]

In 1892 the Scottish Church Society was founded with Dr. Milligan as its first President. Among its first officers were Dr. Hutchinson, Dr. A. K. H. Boyd, Dr. Leishmann, Dr. John Macleod and Dr. Sprott. The constitution of the Society stated that some of its special objects were " the deepening of a penitential sense of the sin and peril of schism and the furtherance of Catholic unity in every way consistent with true loyalty to the Church of Scotland." In delivering the Croall Lectures in the winter of 1879–1880, Dr. Milligan said : " To speak of making the world believe in a risen Lord by mere Bible circulation or missionary exertion is to waste time and strength unless it is attended by the spectacle of Unity."

CONCLUSION

We shall not attempt to tell here of the greatest social service organizations of to-day which are really engaged in much more than this type of Christian service. Those include the Evangelical Alliances, the Bible Societies, the Federations of the Churches now organized in all lands, and the various other forms of Church co-operation. All these practical expressions of Church union are studied separately. But we believe that, apart from the contributions of these latter groups, we have been right in contending throughout this Chapter that the modern movements towards a unified Body of Christ on earth are mainly due to (1) the missionary urge, and (2) the general educational advance. These two powerful factors are forcing thinking mankind more and more to see that :

> " Our little systems have their day ;
> They have their day and cease to be :
> They are but broken lights of thee ;
> And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

[1] For a fuller treatment of this Association see p. 213 *ff.*
[2] This Society is given special attention on p. 218 *ff.*

EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY PROTESTANT UNITY MOVEMENTS

" And I am no more in the world, and these are in the world, and I come to thee. Holy Father, keep them in thy name which thou hast given me, that they may be one even as we are."

—S. John xvii, 11.

" Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation ; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand."

—S. Matthew xii 25.

" But now hath God set the members each one of them in the body, even as it pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body ? But now are they many members, but one body."

—I Corinthians, xii, 18–20.

" Such unity as the Lord prayed for is a mysterious thing. It is no fantasy, but it answers in no way to the idea that ' one Lord, one faith, one baptism ' can be condensed into one Rite, one Code, one Chair. A mysterious thing. Nothing formal, mechanical, or limitable by words . . .

" A true unity has to take account equally of Christ's Prayer and of Christ's Law ; of the Prayer which He offered over the Sacrifice of Himself ; and of the Laws which Himself, our Creator, impressed on the intellectual existence of our race. One centre we have, but the approaches to it from without, the radii of thought, are infinite."

—From *Cyprian*, Edward White Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury (1882–1896).

Elizabeth 1558 – 1603	James I 1603-1625	Charles I 1625 – 1649	Comm.th 49-60	Charles II 1660 – 1685	Jas II 85-89	Wm & Mry 1689-1702	Anne 1702-14	Geo. I 1714-27	Geo 1727

Explanation

Scottish Presbyterian Schisms & Unions

also

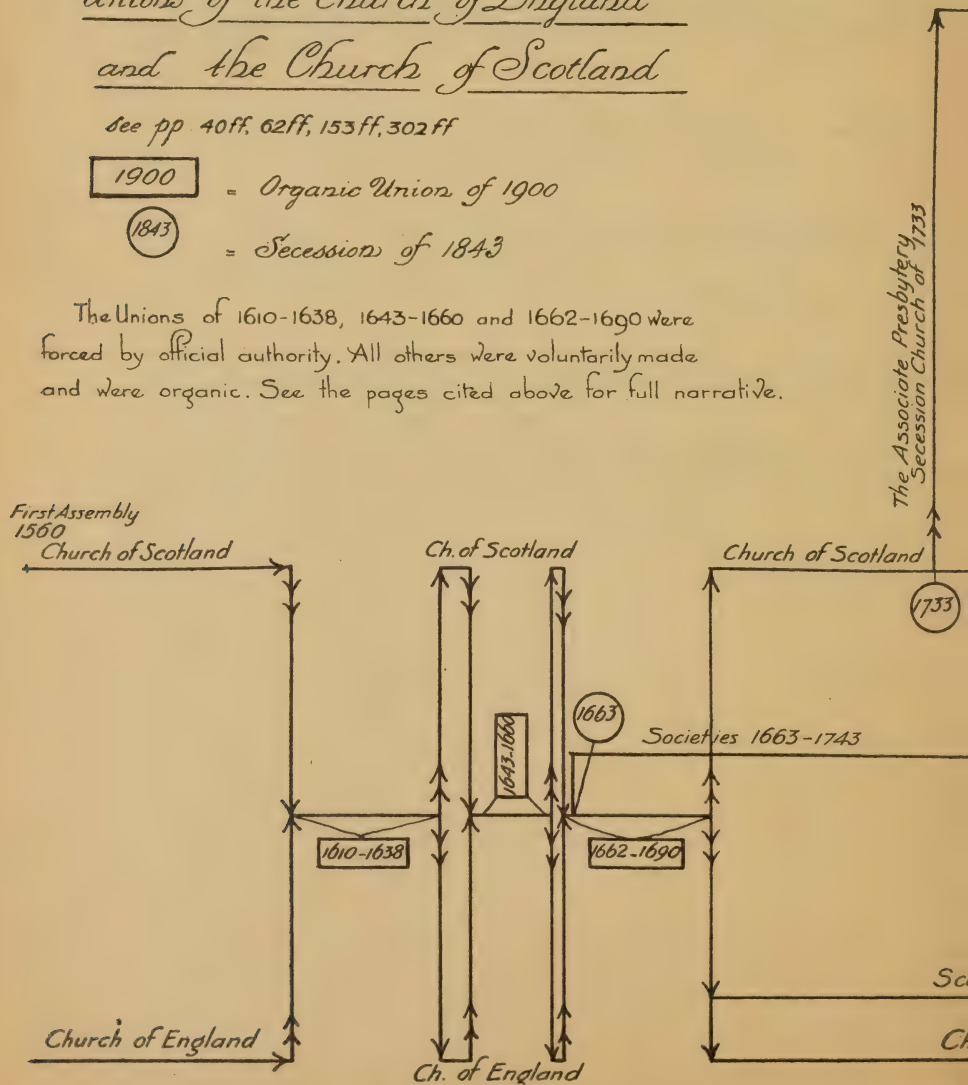
Unions of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland

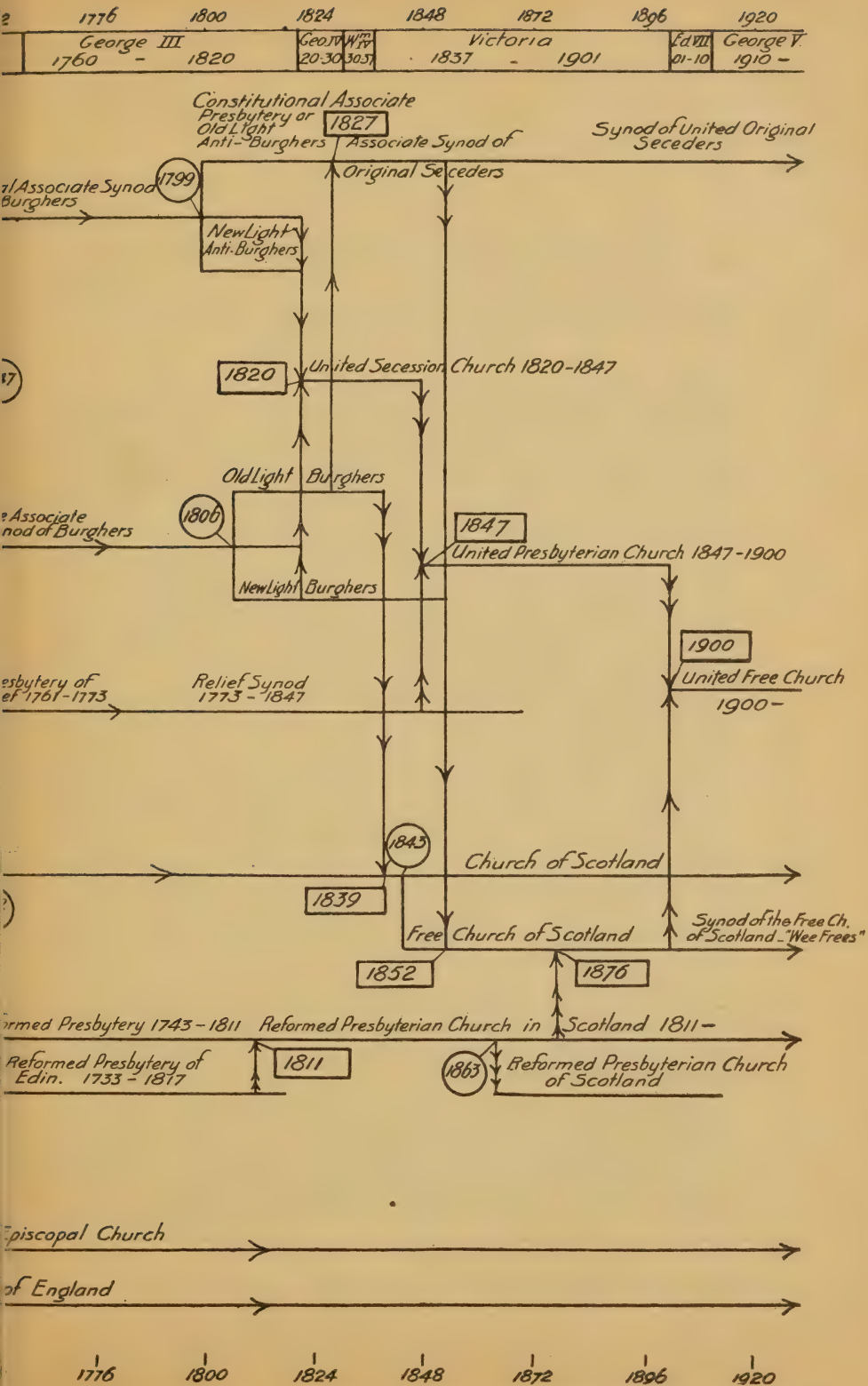
see pp 40ff, 62ff, 153ff, 302ff

1900 = Organic Union of 1900

(1843) = Secession of 1843

The Unions of 1610-1638, 1643-1660 and 1662-1690 were forced by official authority. All others were voluntarily made and were organic. See the pages cited above for full narrative.




1776
1800
1824
1848
1872
1896
1920
George III
1760 - 1820
Geo IV 1820-30
Wm IV 1830-37
Victoria
1837 - 1901
Ed VII 1901-10
George V
1910 -
Constitutional Associate Presbytery or Old Light Anti-Burghers
1827
Associate Synod of
Synod of United Original Seceders
Original Seceders
1799
New Light Anti-Burghers
1820
United Secession Church 1820-1847
Old Light Burghers
1806
1847
United Presbyterian Church 1847-1900
New Light Burghers
1900
United Free Church
1900 -
Relief Synod
1773 - 1847
1843
Church of Scotland
1839
Free Church of Scotland
Synod of the Free Ch. of Scotland "Wee Frees"
1852
1876
Reformed Presbytery 1743 - 1811
Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland 1811 -
Reformed Presbytery of Edin. 1733 - 1877
1811
1863
Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland
Episcopal Church
of England
1776
1800
1824
1848
1872
1896
1920

face p. 153

CHAPTER IV

Evangelical or Protestant Organic Unions, Pan-denominational Conferences and Alliances (*c.a.* 1714-1900)

(1) SCHISMS AND UNIONS IN SCOTLAND PRIOR TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The story of re-union movements in Scotland[1] naturally divides itself into union movements within the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the various efforts at different times to bring about union between the Presbyterian Churches of that land, especially the Church of Scotland (Established), and the Church of England, with which the Scottish Episcopal Church is in communion.[2] The latter movements centre about the introduction of the Anglican Episcopacy in 1610-1638, and in 1661-1687, about the official establishment of Presbyterianism (1643-1660), and the more recent efforts of such Scottish Episcopal leaders as Bishop Charles Wordsworth (1854-1892), and such Church of Scotland leaders as James Cooper, Norman Macleod, and others. We shall give our attention to the efforts to unite the English and Scottish Established Churches after we have made a study of the re-union movements within Scotland itself.

Previous to 1560, when under John Knox the Scottish Protestant Church held its First Assembly, the Churches in Scotland were Roman Catholic, but in 1557 the Scotch barons, inspired by John Knox who was then absent from the country, bound themselves together in a Covenant to further the Reformation and to oppose the Roman Catholic religion. In 1567, the Church was officially established. At the death of Knox in 1572, Andrew Melville, who had a profound hatred of Episcopacy, became his successor. He had been a fellow student and teacher with Beza at Geneva. Melville was unable to set up pure Presbyterianism at once : in fact, in the very year that he succeeded Knox, Tulchan[3] bishops were appointed to fill the original Roman Catholic Sees, so that through agents possess-

[1] Bibliography on Scottish Church History, including the schisms and unions : Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1775. Also *Letters and Journals of R.B.*, Edinburgh, 1841 ; David Calderwood, *The True History of the Church of Scotland*, 1679 ; Robert Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1721–22, 2 vols. ; William M. Hetherington, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 7th edition, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1852 ; A. S. Cunningham, *History of Secession and Relief Churches in Dunfermline*, 1737–1899, W. Clark & Son, 1899 ; Logan, *The United Free Church* (1681–1906) ; and C. J. M'Crie, *The Church of Scotland: Her Divisions and Re-unions*. Mcniven & Wallace, Edinburgh, 1909. The Chart of Presbyterian Schisms and Re-unions in Scotland (facing p. 153) should be studied in connection with the above narrative.

[2] For a history of these efforts see p. 221 *ff*.

[3] The word " Tulchan " signified a calf skin filled with straw, supposed to induce a cow to give milk freely.

ing legal title to them these bishops might enjoy the income of the Sees. They exercised no authority over their clerical brethren, and they were not Episcopally ordained. John Knox, in a sermon preached at the admission of John Douglas as the Tulchan Archbishop of St. Andrews, condemned the patron and the precentor for their corrupt actions, but he did not condemn Episcopacy as an item of polity. Melville pressed his agitation for Presbyterianism, which was finally established in 1592, the Assembly having abolished Episcopacy in 1580 in spite of royal opposition.[1] In 1603 James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England. He had much trouble as a result of the opposition of those who favoured Presbytery. He determined, therefore, to make the Scottish Church Episcopal. This he did in 1610.[2] The Episcopacy thus established was abolished in 1638, largely as the result of the rescinding, in 1612, of the Act of 1592, and the prohibition, in 1618, of all Assemblies. In addition to this, James I., who summoned a General Assembly at Perth in 1617, compelled that Assembly to promulgate such practices as bowing in the presence of the elements of the Eucharist, the use of the ring at weddings, and similar practices which the people regarded as being Papal. On February 28, 1638, what has been called the National Covenant was signed in Greyfriars Church and Churchyard. This consisted of: (1) A Covenant, signed by King James and his household in 1580, to defend the State against Roman Catholicism, and to maintain Presbyterianism; (2) A review of all the various Acts of Parliament enacted during the reign of James I. and Charles I. for the furtherance of these same objects; (3) A Covenant by the nobles, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers and commons ever to continue in the Reformed religion, to defend the same, and stoutly to resist all contrary errors and corruptions. This Covenant was accepted by Parliament in 1639.

In 1643[3] the Scottish Assembly and the English Parliament entered into the "Solemn League and Covenant" as between themselves, to promote the principles of the Reformation. In 1647 there arose two parties in the Church, the Resolutioners for and the Protesters against the "Act of Classes" by which the Covenanters disqualified for public office all who promised Charles I., who was then a prisoner on the Isle of Wight, support should he agree to defend the Solemn League and Covenant. The period of the Commonwealth under Cromwell and his son (1649-1660) saw little change in Scottish unity except that Cromwell's prohibiting of Assemblies in 1653 caused considerable resentment. An event of 1649 had the greatest significance. In that year the Scottish Parliament confirmed the Church in her liberties, ratified the Westminster Standards, and abolished lay patronage. The latter remained under the ban until the English Parliament's "Queen Anne Act" in 1712. In the history of the Churches of Scotland the questions of lay patronage and of

[1] See article, *Church of Scotland*, by Rev. Allan Menzies, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Thirteenth Edition.

[2] See p. 40 *ff.*

[3] See p. 62 *ff* for the account of Presbyterianism being officially established throughout Great Britain 1643–1660.

State interference in religion figured, more than any other questions, in Church dis-unions, or, being removed, resulted in Church unions. In 1663, the English Parliament passed an Act requiring that all ministers appointed since 1649, when lay patronage was abolished, should get presentations from their patrons and institutions from their bishops, the Episcopacy having been restored by the Rescissory Act in 1661.[1] This Act disposed of the Presbyterian policy of the Church and provided for the re-establishment of episcopally ordained bishops. Contrary to the "Precedent of 1610," the bishops now provided for the Scottish Church were episcopally-ordained deacons and elders previous to being episcopally consecrated as bishops.

When, in 1663, the ministers were asked to get presentations from patrons and to show institutions from bishops, between two and three hundred of them found themselves unable to meet the requirements. Accordingly they found themselves without Churches. But there were many Churches which sympathized with them, and withdrew from the Established Church of Scotland to form "Societies." To induce these clergymen to return to the Church, indulgences setting aside the above requirements were offered to any who would accept. About one hundred clergy returned to the Established Church after that concession, but one Richard Cameron vehemently opposed the scheme of indulgences in 1679, and in 1680, in an effort to accomplish his arrest, he was killed. These "Societies" and all sympathizers with Richard Cameron formed the beginnings of non-conformity in the Church life of Scotland, and were the nucleus for the Reformed Presbytery (1743-1811) which was succeeded by the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, a remnant of which has continued from 1811 to the present day.

After the death of Richard Cameron the "Societies" were without a pastor until the Rev. J. M. Millan joined them and became their pastor in 1706. In 1743 the Rev. Thomas Nairn joined with the Societies and their pastor, and they together organized themselves into the "Reformed Presbytery." From this there sprang off in 1753 the "Reformed Presbytery of Edinburgh," which continued until 1817. Six years before this Presbytery went out of existence three of its Presbyteries, for it had now grown in size, united with the Reformed Presbytery from which it had originally sprung, and in 1811 they all united to form the "Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland." From this latter there separated, in 1863, the "Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland" which continued as such for but a few years. In 1876, the majority of the ministers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, with their congregations, united with the Free Church of Scotland, leaving the small remnant continuing to-day, as above stated.

Having traced the beginnings and subsequent history, including the dis-unions and unions, of the various Reformed Churches of Scotland from 1663, until the close of the nineteenth century, let us return to the consideration of the Established Church and the next great schism therefrom.

[1] See p. 67 *ff.*

In 1690, on the accession of William of Orange and Queen Mary to the throne of England, a very large number of the Scottish laymen and a smaller number of the Scottish clergy, including some of the bishops, found themselves unable to take the required oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns, since they argued that they had previously sworn to support James II. and the Stuart Royal House in their claims to the English throne. All who thus refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary came to be called "Non-jurors." There were Churchmen in England, both among the laity and clergy, who found themselves in the same predicament as to conscience as did the Scotch Non-jurors. Both the English and the Scotch Non jurors being regarded as supporters of the son of Charles II., that is of him who would have been James III., were called "Jacobites." The Stuart House being Roman Catholic, the Non-jurors were accused of being Romanists. Subsequent investigations of the acts and teaching of the Non jurors, some of whom persisted until the early decades of the nineteenth century, reveal the fact that they, for the most part, were not Romanists, but were eager for the return of the English Church to early Anglicanism, and especially to the doctrines and polity of the Christian Church of the first centuries. They did have leanings toward the Eastern Orthodox Church as evidenced in the Non-jurors' correspondence with that Church in the early eighteenth century. But even in that case they did not hesitate to present their objections to what they believed to be unwarranted additions in the Orthodox doctrine and liturgy.

James II. having fled the country and the Protestant William III. having come to the throne in 1689, Scotland abandoned the Episcopacy which had been established in 1661, and returned to Presbyterianism. But Episcopalianism was not thereby stamped out. On the contrary, while many of the lay Episcopalians were Non-jurors, all were given, in due time, the right to use the English liturgy as provided by an Act of Parliament, called the Queen Anne Act of 1712. As stated above, it was this Act which restored lay patronage and led to the great secession of 1733 and to the formation of the Relief Synod in 1752. The Episcopalianism established in 1661, and officially rejected in 1689, is the beginning of the Scottish Episcopalian Church of to-day. The Presbyterian Orders of the Church of Scotland also had their origin in the rejected Scottish episcopate of 1689.[1]

The re-establishment of lay patronage, in 1712, was sufficient to cause all sorts of trouble amongst the freedom loving, self-governing Scotch peasantry. But when, in 1733, the Scottish Assembly passed an Act abolishing the congregation's right to have a voice in the selection of a Pastor, the wrath of certain able leaders knew scarcely any bounds. On December 6, 1733, the Reverends Ebenezer Erskine, William Wilson, Alexander Moncrieff, and James Fisher withdrew from the Established Church and formed what they called the Associate Presbytery. In 1745 this had grown sufficiently to warrant its organization into the Associate Synod. The Act of 1733, which

[1] See p. 68.

had caused the secession, was abolished in the following year on the grounds of unconstitutionality, but it was too late to heal the trouble.

In 1745 a bitter controversy broke out in the Associate Synod over the religious clause in the oaths required of burghers, or voters, in the incorporated towns of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth. The clause which caused the storm read: "I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm and authorized by the laws thereof." Those of the Associate Synod who were opposed to the taking of this oath, since they believed it involved subscription to the Established Church of Scotland, organized separately at the home of Adam Gib in Edinburgh on April 10, 1747, as the Associate Synod of Anti-Burghers. Alexander Moncrieff and Thomas Mair were associated with Adam Gib in this movement. By 1788 the Associate Synod of Anti-Burghers had ninety-four settled charges in Great Britain, nineteen in Ireland, and a Presbytery in America. In that year they formed themselves into four provincial Synods, and assumed the name of "The General Associate Synod." Then there arose within this Synod a controversy as to the place of the civil magistrate in religion (a recurrence in a slightly modified form of the whole problem of State interference in religion and the autonomy of the congregation as to its own internal affairs), and as a result Thomas M'Crie (1772-1835), with three other fellow-ministers, withdrew, as a protest to the supposed "new light" others claimed to have had when they revised the testimony in the "voluntary," forming, in 1804, the Constitutional Associate Presbytery, otherwise known as the Old Light Anti-Burghers.

The Associate Synod (Burghers), held their first meeting at Stirling, where they organized on June 16, 1747. By 1777, they had Presbyteries in Ireland and North America as well as Scotland. In 1782 the Burgher Presbyteries in America took the name of the Associate Reformed Church in America. Then, about 1795, there arose the same sort of a controversy amongst the Burghers as had arisen among the Anti-Burghers relative to the power of a civil magistrate in religious matters. The larger part of the Burghers had "new light" views. This forced the "old lights" to secede in 1799. They called themselves the Associate Presbytery, but in 1805 this name was changed to the Associate Synod of Original Burgher Synod. In 1839 the larger part of this Synod united with the Church of Scotland, for they no longer found their views as to the relation of the State to the Church to be much different than those of the Established Church. The very small minority of the Associate Synod or Original Anti-Burgher Synod united with the Original Seceders in 1842, the Church thus formed designating itself as the United Original Seceders. In 1852 a bare majority, that is, twenty-seven ministers all told, of the Original Seceders united with the Free Church.

In 1820 one hundred and twenty-nine congregations of the General Associate or Anti-Burgher Synod joined with the one hundred and fifty-four congregations of the Associate or Burgher Synod and formed the United Secession Church. The remaining eight congregations of the General Associate or Anti-Burgher Synod joined with the

Constitutional Associate Presbytery in 1827, to form the Associate Synod of Original Seceders.

In 1847 the United Secession Church, which by this time had grown until it had four hundred congregations, was united with one hundred and eighteen out of the total one hundred and thirty-six Relief Churches, forming thereby the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The mention of the Relief Churches requires an explanation of their existence. In 1752 Thomas Gillespie, a minister of the Church of Scotland, refused to act on a Committee that had been designated to settle a certain minister in a Church, although the Church had voted against his becoming their pastor. Gillespie believed that the congregations should have the right of veto, contrary to the Act of 1733. He wrote out an explanation of his attitude. In a short time he was deposed and unfrocked for his alleged insubordination. Others joined him in time, including both clergy and congregations. In 1761 these formed themselves into the Presbytery of Relief which in 1773 became the Relief Synod, which at that time passed legislation that allowed occasional communion with the Episcopalians and with the Independents. In 1847 the Relief Synod congregations numbered one hundred and thirty-six, of which one hundred and eighteen joined with the United Secession Church, as previously indicated, forming the United Presbyterian Church. This latter Church was really quite similar to the Free Church of Scotland in its conviction relative to the right of each congregation to choose its own pastor, and as to the freedom the Church should enjoy from the State in its doctrinal teachings. From 1863 to 1873 there was more or less continuous effort to bring about union between the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church, but without success. In 1896 the negotiations were renewed, and on the last day of October, 1900, the two Churches finally united to form the United Free Church of Scotland.

To fail to mention the occasion of the rise of the Free Church in Scotland would be to omit one of the finest examples in the whole history of the Christian Church of voluntary renunciation of comfortable livings and the assumption of great hardships for conscience' sake. In 1843, the whole question of patronage in the Church of Scotland reached a crisis. An increasingly large group of that Church chafed more and more under the scheme whereby a minister could be forced on a congregation, which had no right to veto his appointment. After what has been designated by historians as the " Ten Years of Conflict " the Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent to the Queen, through the office of the Lord High Commissioner of Scotland, a " Claim, declaration and protest " against the encroachments of the Court of Session, and a respectful request that patronage be abolished. The answer of the Home Secretary in 1834 promised no relief. By a vote of two hundred and eleven to seventy-six the House of Commons refused to do anything to redress the grievances of the Church of Scotland, that is, of that portion of it which was opposed to patronage. When, therefore, that Church met in its next regular session on May 18, 1843, there were two hundred of its membership who came with a signed statement that they had the legal right to

withdraw to a separate place of meeting. On Tuesday, May 23rd, three hundred and ninety-six ministers and professors publicly signed the Act of Separation and deed of demission, thereby voluntarily surrendering their livings, which were estimated at about £100,000 annually. Ultimately four hundred and seventy-four of the one thousand two hundred and three ministers left, as did all of the missionaries but one. Dr. Thomas Chalmers was the leader of this secession. In separate Conference they organized the Free Church with Dr. Chalmers as the first Moderator. The newly-formed Free Church set about heroically and successfully to build their own Church buildings and to establish their own schools. But we are especially concerned as to how the union of this Church with the United Presbyterian Church was accomplished. The story has been barely outlined above in connection with the history of the latter.

The 1863-1873 negotiations between these two Churches came to no successful issue, because the United Presbyterian Church could not concede as much power to the civil magistrate in Church matters as did the Free Church. The latter believed that a civil magistrate could very well " reserve to himself full control over the temporalities which are his own gift," provided " he abstain from all authoritative interference in the internal government of the Church." The former would not concede this power to the civil magistrate. There was also a very determined minority in the Free Church opposed to union.

However, advances as between the Free Church and the Reformed Presbyterian Church (the Cameronians), resulted in the majority of the ministers and congregations of the latter uniting with the former in 1876. Soon after 1873, in spite of the failure of the United Presbyterians and the Free Church to unite, they passed an agreement whereby the ministers of either Communion would be eligible to accept a call to a Church of the other. This proved to be a very happy arrangement. The desire actually to unite nevertheless persisted and found concrete expression in the form of a resolution by the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in its session of 1896, to the effect that they should take steps toward union. The Assembly of the Free Church responded favourably in the next year, appointing a Committee to meet with a similar Committee from the other Church. After three years of happy conference a scheme of union was arranged which was satisfactory to all but a small minority of the Free Church, and the union to form the United Free Church of Scotland was consummated on October 31, 1900.

The small minority of the Free Church withdrew and organized to continue the Free Church which by 1901 had twenty-five ministers and sixty-three congregations. This continuing Free Church was made up of " the decreasing minority of the Old Free Church who had protested against disestablishment resolutions, against relaxation of subscription, against toleration of the teaching of Glasgow professors, and against the use in worship of organs or human hymn tunes. Her congregations were mostly in the Gaelic-speaking districts of Scotland."[1] This Church is referred to as " The Wee Frees."

[1] Allan Menzies, *op. cit.*

They instituted legal proceedings against the merging of the Free Church with the United Presbyterian Church. They lost in the Scottish Courts, but their appeal to the House of Lords resulted, after a delay of three years, in the supreme court reversing the decision of the lower courts. The announcement of the decision of the Law Lords struck consternation in the hearts of all the newly formed United Free Church. The decision meant that all the properties of the original Free Church were the property of the continuing Free Church with its very few ministers and congregations. It was discovered after a time that the decision was to the effect that the Free Church was to have the property only as it was in a position to use the same effectively. Then a Commission was appointed which continued in session for many months to partition out the properties between the Wee Frees and the United Free Church. This task was ultimately accomplished satisfactorily, but only after all sorts of vexations and delays. The lessons learned at such great cost in connection with these Churches have caused all Communions negotiating for union since, as, for example, the Churches of Canada, to take great care to avoid any embarrassing legal obstacles being perpetrated by a continuing minority.

(2) RE-UNION MOVEMENTS IN AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM[1]

Presbyterianism had its beginning on American soil when, in 1562, the French Huguenots settled at Port Royal, South Carolina. Nearly one hundred years later (1620), English Presbyterians came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and in 1668 Irish Presbyterians settled in Maryland and Virginia. Soon thereafter Scotch Presbyterians from the Established Church began to settle in the New England and Middle Atlantic Colonies as well as in parts of Canada.[2] In 1751 representatives of the Reformed Presbyterian Church came to settle in America, followed, in 1752, by the Anti-Burghers who settled in Pennsylvania, and, in 1764, by the Burghers who settled in the Middle Colonies. By 1801 the divisions based on situations to be found only in Scotland were well-nigh obliterated. It was in that year that a "Plan of Union,"[3] which terminated in 1837, was drawn up between

[1] R. E. Thompson, "History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States," 1895, found in Vol. VI of *The American Church History Series*. See Vol. XI of this series for brief histories of "The United Presbyterians," J. B. Scouller; "The Cumberland Presbyterians," R. N. Foster; and "The Southern Presbyterians," Thomas C. Johnson. See also, C. A. Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, N.Y., 1885; Charles Hodge, *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America*, 1706–1788, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1839–40; Richard Webster, *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*.

[2] Canadian Presbyterian Re-union Movements are reviewed either as separate events or in connection with the antecedent movements resulting in the United Church of Canada. See p. 173 *ff.* and 303–304.

[3] For Home Mission Work. The Presbyterian repudiation of this "Plan" caused a split into the "Old School" and "New School" groups. The latter continued in the "Plan" until 1852. The "Plan," while operative, was America's first instance of co-operation or alliance for Home Mission work.

the Connecticut General Association (Congregational), and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (in America).

In the year 1840 Presbyterians in the United States were almost wholly in one of two groups: the Old School Presbyterians numbering one thousand three hundred eight ministers, one thousand eight hundred ninety-eight churches, and one hundred twenty-six thousand five hundred eighty-three communicants; and the New School Presbyterians with one thousand two hundred thirty-four ministers, one thousand three hundred seventy-five churches, and one hundred two thousand sixty communicants. In 1844 a loose union called the "Federal Council of the Reformed Churches in America" was formed by the Churches with the Presbyterian System, the Southern Assembly, the Dutch and the German Reformed Churches not co-operating. At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 we find four leading Presbyterian groups, namely, the Old School, the New School, Cumberland Presbyterian, and United Synod which ranked numerically in the order given. The Civil War brought disruption between the Northern and Southern Presbyterians as it did also among the Baptists and Methodists. The Southern Presbyterians of the Old School withdrew in 1861, and at the close of the Civil War took the name of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. In 1867 an unsuccessful attempt was made to unite all the Presbyterian bodies of the North. In 1869, on the tenth day of November, at a union Conference held in Pittsburg, the Old and New School Presbyterians of the North entered into organic union.[1] The Westminster Confession of Faith was received and adopted as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures. The New School were granted the privilege of having freedom of interpretation, and the Old School were appeased by the Confession having been received in its proper historical sense as against Antinomianism and Fatalism on the one hand, and Arminianism and Pelagianism on the other.

Three Presbyteries of the Reformed Presbyterian General Synod (New School) joined the Northern Assembly between 1870 and 1881. In 1888 the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America refused to unite with the United Presbyterian Church because the latter had no objections to the secular character of the United States' Constitution. Neither could this same Synod unite with the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1890, because the latter did not allow its members to "incorporate" themselves with the political system of the United States. In 1890 the United Presbyterian Church of North America refused to enter into the union of Presbyterian and Reformed Missions in India. The opposition of this Church to instrumental music and to the use of any songs other than the Psalms has figured much in their aloofness from other denominations. In 1906 the greater part of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church united with the Northern General Assembly, *i.e.*, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

[1] Philip Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. III, p. 809 *ff.*

(3) WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES HOLDING THE PRESBYTERIAN SYSTEM

On July 23, 1875, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System was organized in Queen's Square College, London. Three men, above all others, were responsible for its founding: James M'Cosh of Princeton, Philip Schaff of New York, and William Garden Blakie of Edinburgh. Others prominent in the movement were John Hall of New York, Oswald Dykes, Donald Fraser of London, Mitchell of St. Andrews, and Alexander Duff, the famous Indian missionary. At the Queen's Square Meeting there were sixty-four delegates from twenty-one Churches—five American, seven from Great Britain, and nine from the Continent. The general basis of organization was the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, adherence to the consensus of Reformed confessions, and a general acknowledgement of Presbyterian principles.

The first Conference of the Alliance was held at Edinburgh, July 2, 1877. Many delegates were present from the United Kingdom and from eight British Dominions. One hundred were present from the United States. Over twenty Continental Churches were represented.[1]

The succeeding Conferences of this World Alliance were as follows previous to 1895: 1880, Philadelphia in the Academy of Music and Horticultural Hall; 1884, in St. Enoch's Chapel, Belfast, Ireland. Two thousand communicated at a great communion service on a Sunday afternoon. A possible Consensus of the Reformed Confessions was discussed in a friendly fashion, seven years of investigation by a special commission having preceded. It was agreed that the World Alliance would be unwise to attempt the construction of a Consensus at that time. Following considerable debate, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was admitted to the Alliance; 1888, in London, where an Executive Committee was appointed to care for the business of the Alliance between Councils. This Committee was divided into two sections, the Eastern having headquarters in Scotland, and the Western in America; and, in 1892, at Toronto, Canada. The further meetings of the Alliance will be described later.[2]

(4) JOHN WESLEY (1703-1791)

As the years come and go, John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, one of England's greatest sons, is being elevated to a still

[1] On this occasion Dr. Philip Schaff read a notable Essay, "The Harmony of the Reformed Confessions," published N.Y., Dodd Mead & Co., 1877. It was hoped that the Alliance would be instrumental in the construction of a common doctrinal statement to which all the Reformed Churches in the Alliance could subscribe. Committees were appointed as the result of Dr. Schaff's Essay. But when the project came up for consideration at the meeting of the Alliance in 1884, it was decided to go no further. In the meeting of the Alliance at Cardiff, Wales, in 1925, the problem was again very ably discussed. See *Report of the Twelfth General Council*, edited by J. R. Fleming, Edinburgh, 1926, pp. 102–143.

[2] See p. 316.

higher place in the estimation of the world. He, more than any other, is responsible for having brought the evangelical revival, accompanying the Reformation, into England and, through his children in the Gospel, into North America. He, more than any other, has caused Arminianism, freed from Pelagianism, to enrich and humanize the philosophy and theology of Evangelicalism. This achievement makes an immeasurable contribution to the cause of Christian unity. The Methodists in Australia, England, Canada, and the United States have made great progress in the matter of union amongst themselves, though in the United States and England the larger unions have been temporarily delayed by the failures to reach the two-thirds vote.[1] The Methodists in all countries are always found in the forefront in matters of interdenominational co-operation and of federation for all forms of Christian service. No followers of John Wesley can rightfully be guilty of denominational bigotry or snobbishness, or of a lack in eagerness for the reduction of the divisions of Christendom to the lowest possible minimum compatible with Christian righteousness, love, and truth, as these virtues are to be found in and contributed by all the Christian Churches.

John Wesley was a priest or presbyter in the Church of England, and in that relation he died. In the early part of his career he was very " high Church " in his views and practices. The Oxford Holy Club, of which he, his brother Charles, George Whitfield, and others were the founders and members, was very similar in its austerities and formalities, as well as in its scholarly practices, to those of the Oxford Reformers of 1833, and of men like Dr. E. B. Pusey, and the more devout Anglo-Catholics of this present day. The following letter, written by John Wesley seven years after his conversion,[2] indicates that he still held rather " high Church " views with regard to the subjects discussed. This letter was addressed to his brother-in-law, Hall, who had written to both John and Charles Wesley pressing them to renounce the Church of England, " and," writes John Wesley, " For not complying with which advice he soon renounced us." Wesley wrote : " We believe it would not be right for us to administer Baptism or the Lord's Supper, unless we had a commission to do so from those Bishops whom we apprehend to be in succession from the Apostles. And yet we allow these Bishops are the successors of those who were dependent on the Bishop of Rome . . . We believe that there is, and always was, in every Christian Church, priesthood, ordained by Jesus Christ, and an outward sacrifice offered therein, by men authorized to act as Ambassadors of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God . . . . We believe that the three-fold order of Ministers . . . is not only authorized by its Apostolical institution, but also by the written word."

When, because of the hostility on the part of his fellow-clergy of the Church of England, he was compelled to preach out-of-doors, and was led to enlist lay preachers to assist him in carrying on a rapidly increasing work in many centres, the clergy of his Church refused to

[1] See p. 166 *ff.*

[2] Letter dated Dec. 27th, 1745. *Works of John Wesley*, Third Edition, London, Mason, 1829. Vol. ii, p. 4.

administer the benefits of corporate Church life to the scores of thousands of new converts, then Wesley was compelled to take steps, the logic and ultimate result of which was the formation of a new Church, though he himself believed that he remained in the Church of England.

The Rev. J. H. Rigg, in his book, "The Churchmanship of John Wesley,"[1] discusses the foregoing letter of Wesley to his brother-in-law, and indicates that in his diary of January 20, 1746, he wrote: "I set out for Bristol. On the road I read over Lord King's "Account of the Primitive Church." In spite of the vehement prejudice of my education, I was ready to believe that there was a fair and impartial draught; but if so, it would follow that Bishops and Presbyters are (essentially) of one order; and that originally every Christian congregation was a Church independent of all others!" Rigg would interpret these words as indicating a repudiation[2] of the "high Church" sentiments in the letter of December 27, 1745. Plainly such a conclusion is unwarranted. The words "was ready to believe" and the exclamation point at the end are signs that the "Account" did not convince him. However, Rigg does marshal convincing evidence to show that John Wesley considered the doctrine of an unbroken apostolic succession to be a fable; that he agreed with the Church of England's teaching and practice of recognizing, up to the middle of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, non-episcopal orders in the Reformed Churches; and of holding that the episcopacy is of the *bene esse* but not *jure divino*. He concludes by stating that in tastes Wesley was a broad High-Churchman, and on points of principle "he was an Arminian Low-Churchman."[3]

While as a presbyter he provided presbyterially ordained clergymen for his Churches so far as was possible, this was not continued in the Wesleyan Church of England, but it was, and has ever since been, continued as a method of ordination, including the laying on of hands, in the Methodist Episcopal Churches in America. The larger part of the Methodist Churches in England and in America use the ritual of the Church of their founder slightly modified in the administration of the sacraments, the Episcopal branches also using the same ritual in ordination services.

In 1760 Mr. Wesley issued a circular to fifty ministers of the various Churches, in which he said: "I do not ask a union in opinions. They might agree or disagree touching absolute decrees on the one hand or perfection on the other. These may still speak of imputed righteousness, and those of the merits of Christ. Not a union with regard to outward order. Some may still remain quite regular; but these things being as they are, as each is persuaded in his own mind, is it not a desirable thing that we should love the brethren?"[4]

[1] New and Revised Edition, London. Wesleyan Methodist Book Room. 1886. p. 65 *ff.*

[2] *John Wesley's Complete Works, op. cit.*, pp. 3–6.

[3] J. H. Rigg, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–78.

[4] *Official Report of the World Evangelical Alliance Meeting*, New York, 1873. Edited by P. Schaff. Quoted by the Rev. Dr. George R. Crooks in an address at the 1873 World Alliance Meeting.

He wrote, in 1765, to a minister of the Church of England: "I desire to have a league, offensive and defensive, with every soldier of Jesus Christ. We have not only one faith, one hope, one head, but are directly engaging in one warfare. Come, then, ye that love Him, to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." In a spirit of true Catholicity, Mr. Wesley published a life of Madame Guyon, a Roman Catholic, and also a life of a French Unitarian.

In a noted sermon on "Catholick Spirit," which he preached in 1770, we find many of his desires and convictions relative to Christian unity. "Do you show love by your words? While you have time, as you have opportunity, do you in fact, 'Do good to all men,' neighbours or strangers, friends or enemies, good or bad? Do you do them all the good you can; endeavouring to supply all their wants, assisting them both in body and soul, to the uttermost of your power? If thou art thus minded, may every Christian say yea; if thou art but sincerely desirous of it, and following on till thou attain, then thy heart is right as my heart is with thy heart. If it be, give me thy hand. I do not mean Be of my opinion. You need not. I do not expect or desire it. Neither do I mean I will be of your opinion. I cannot. It does not depend on my choice. I can no more think than I can hear or see as I will. Keep your own opinion; I mine, and that as steadily as ever. You need not endeavour to come over to me, or bring me over to you. I do not desire to dispute those points, or to hear or speak one word concerning them. Let all opinions alone on one side and the other. Only, Give me thine hand!"

"I mean first, love me. And that not only as thou lovest mankind; not only as thou lovest thine enemies or the enemies of God, those that hate thee, that 'despitefully use thee and persecute thee'; not only as a stranger, as one of whom thou knowest neither good nor evil. I am not satisfied with this. No; if thine heart be right, as mine with thy heart, then love me with a very tender affection, as a friend that is closer than a brother, as a brother in Christ, a fellow-citizen of the New Jerusalem, a fellow-soldier engaged in the same warfare, under the Captain of our Salvation. Love me as a companion in the kingdom and patience of Jesus, and as a joint heir of his glory!"[1]

"I dare not . . . . presume to impose my mode of worship on any other . . . A Catholick Spirit is not speculative latitudinarianism. It is not indifference to all opinions. This is the spawn of hell, not the offspring of Heaven . . . . A Catholick Spirit is not any kind of practical latitudinarianism. It is not indifference as to public worship, or as to the outward manner of performing it." A Catholick Spirit is not an indifference to all congregations. "Catholick Spirit . . is catholick or universal love."[2]

It is not difficult to understand why John Fletcher and John Wesley so loved and admired each other, and why the spirit of each was such that they yearned for all Christians to be bound together in brotherly love and in common service to God and men. These two men were

[1] John Wesley, *Catholick Spirit*, Sermon on 2 Kings, X, 15. Printed by W. Pine in Wine Street, Bristol, 1770.

[2] *Idem*, pp. 9–17.

contemporaries. Just what was Fletcher's attitude towards the acrimonius schisms of that day, especially toward the struggle between the Calvinists and the Arminians? The answer to that question is given elsewhere.[1]

(5) ENGLISH METHODIST UNIONS

Methodism,[2] founded by John Wesley in 1739, came into existence as a separate and organized denomination in 1784. So far as England is concerned, one of the first important separations from the parent Church took place in 1810, when in Staffordshire, under Hugh Bourne and William Clowes who had been expelled because of certain excesses in "Camp Meetings," the Primitive Methodist denomination was founded. This group continues in its separate course to-day with a membership of about two hundred seventeen thousand. By their own vote they stand ready to enter into the larger English Methodist union with the United Methodist Church and the Wesleyan whenever the latter succeed in obtaining the requisite majority in favour of the project.

In 1805 a few followers of Wesley, who chafed under authority outside the local congregation, organized themselves into the Independent Methodists with the congregational form of government and with an unpaid ministry.

The first important union of separated Methodist groups took place in 1836, when the enlarged Wesleyan Association was formed by the union of the Protestant Methodists, who had been organized as such in 1828, and the Wesleyan Methodist Association, which had been formed in 1834, as a result of the controversy over the need for a trained ministry. Then in 1857 the second important Methodist union took place, whereby the United Free Methodist Church of England came into existence as a denomination by the merger of the enlarged Wesleyan Association and the Wesleyan Reformers. The latter had split off from the Wesleyans in 1849, as a result of about one hundred thousand members taking sides with the Reverends James Everett, Samuel Dunn, and William Griffith, who had made an attack upon Dr. Jabez Bunting, a leading figure in the Wesleyan Church, resulting in their expulsion.

The last and greatest of the English Methodist unions to be consummated was that which resulted in the formation of the United Methodist Church in 1907. Into this union came the United Methodist Free Churches(1857), the Methodist New Connexion (which had been founded in 1797, by the Rev. Alexander Kilham), and the Bible Christians (organized in 1815, by William O'Bryan, a Wesleyan Lay

[1] See p. 224 *ff.*

[2] See *Histories of Methodism* by George Smith, Abel Stevens, J. Telford, W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and G. Eayres. See also James Hope Moulton, article, "Methodism in the Catholic Unity," *Constructive Quarterly*, June, 1913. See also *The Review of the Churches*, Second Series, edited by Sir Henry Lunn. Nearly every copy contains editorials or other articles relative to Methodist re-union. See also *Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. 65, Jan., 1908, p. 346 *ff.*, "Methodism and Reunion."

Preacher). It was from the Methodist New Connexion that the Rev. William Booth, for the sake of greater freedom in his work in London's East End, was compelled to depart in 1861, and founded the Salvation Army. The Act of Parliament which enabled the amalgamation of the three Methodist groups to form the United Methodist Church received the royal assent on July 26, 1907. The union was completed in Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, on September 16th, of that year. Into this union were incorporated the principles and practices for which its contributing groups had been originally founded, namely, greater power to members of the societies, and an equal number of ministers and laymen in the principal courts. In every case English Methodist schisms and unions have hinged about questions of polity rather than questions of doctrine.

In recent years negotiations have been carried on for the union of the Wesleyans, the United Methodist Church, and the Primitive Methodists. The two latter have attained the necessary majorities to warrant them signifying their readiness to ask that Parliament pass the required Enabling Act. In 1926 and 1927, the Wesleyan Church was able to obtain the required two-thirds vote in its mixed lay and clerical conference, but the conference of ministers only has, to date, been unable to muster a sufficiently favourable vote. The explanation given of this in *The Review of the Churches* edited by Sir Henry Lunn, a noted Wesleyan layman, is that probably certain of the Wesleyan clergy rather fear appointment to the weaker Churches of the other groups entering the proposed union, and that there is a considerable group in the Wesleyan Church which has a greater desire to enter into a union with the Church of England than it has to join with the Primitive or with the United Methodists. It is only because those of the Wesleyans who are in favour of the union are very desirous of showing the utmost deference to the minority who are opposed, that they have not already proceeded on the basis of the majorities of favourable votes already obtained, and asked, with the other two negotiating groups, for Parliament to pass the Enabling Act.[1]

(6) AMERICAN METHODIST RE-UNION MOVEMENTS

American Methodism[2] had its beginnings in New York City in 1766, when Philip Embury, a Wesleyan local preacher, began to

[1] In *The Methodist Times* for Jan. 12th, 1928, the ministerial leaders of the opposition to union among the Wesleyans are represented as in cordial support of proposals providing for procedure to an Enabling Act if the Conference of 1928 gives a majority of 75% in favour. The final vote will be taken in 1931. If this is 75% in favour, then the union will be effected in 1932, and the first United Conference will be held in 1933.

[2] See J. M. Buckley, *History of Methodism in the United States*, New York, 1897; Gross Alexander, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, New York, 1894, being Vol. XI of the "American Church History Series"; and "The Christian Advocate," New York, Sept. 9th, 1926, article by Dr. E. M. North, Part II, p. 1132 *ff.*

preach. The first American Conference was organized in 1773. At a special conference held in Baltimore, Maryland, December 24, 1784, Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, having been appointed by John Wesley to act as General Superintendents over the Methodists in America, were so elected by this Conference, thus inaugurating American Episcopal Methodism.

The first schism from the parent Church thus founded was that of 1792, under the leadership of the Rev. James O'Kelley, a presiding elder, who asked that any preacher not pleased with his appointment might appeal to the Conference. His request not being granted, he, with several other preachers, seceded. Then followed the secession of other groups as follows: 1813, Union Church of Africans; 1816, African Methodist Episcopal; and 1820, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, these three divisions coming as a result of racial problems; in 1814, the Reformed Methodists; in 1820, the Stillwellites; in 1824, the Canadian portions of the New York and Genesee Conferences; and in 1830, the Methodist Protestants, all of whom withdrew as a result of differences of opinion as to matters of polity or administration. In 1845 came the great schism over slavery problems, resulting in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. With the foregoing divisions in mind, we are prepared in part to appreciate the six different unions that have taken place within the Methodist family of the United States.

The Stillwellites joined the Methodist Protestants in 1843. The Methodist Protestants, having been united with one wing of the Wesleyan Methodist Church for a brief time, left it to unite with its other wing, in 1877. In 1865 a part of the Baltimore Conference seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church to join the Church South. In 1860 the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which had split into two groups, succeeded in healing its schism. In 1866 The Union Church of Africans was joined by the First Coloured Methodist Protestant Church, the resultant union being called "The African Union First Coloured Methodist Protestant Church of America and Elsewhere." In 1923 the Evangelical Association and the United Evangelical Church merged after a separation of thirty years.

In 1908 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church sent delegates to the Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church to make overtures toward organic union. More or less semi-official negotiations have continued since then, many of the Methodist Protestants, both clergy and laity, entering the Methodist Episcopal Church in the meantime. The United Brethren, founded in 1774, have likewise been recently joining the Methodist Church in large numbers. Organic union has been much discussed, and gives promise of consummation in the not distant future.

Union between the great branches of American Methodism, namely the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South, has been longed for ever since the close of the American Civil War. The whole matter did not come to any significant or official head until after the recent world war. About 1918 various commissions and committees began to be appointed by both Churches.

In 1920 the General Conferences of the two Communions had the matter of their re-union so well advanced that ere the close of the succeeding quadrennium the various Annual Conferences were called upon to take action upon a specific scheme of re-union which had been formulated by the joint commission created for that purpose. The Methodist Episcopal Church, through its Annual Conferences, and finally through its General Conference in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1924, obtained a well-nigh unanimous action in favour of the proposed scheme.

High hopes were held that the Church South would take similar action. Very determined and powerful opposition on the part of certain of its bishops, lesser clergy, and laity, who raised the Civil War-time prejudices with regard to negroes holding membership in the same Church with white people, and brought charges that the Methodist Episcopal Church was a hot-bed of modernism, succeeded in marshalling a sufficient number of votes in opposition so that the necessary two-thirds vote in favour was not obtained. Thus re-union between the two major Communions of American Methodism was postponed for an indefinite period. Both of these Churches stand with those in the forefront amongst the American Evangelical Churches in all matters having to do with Christian co-operation and federation, such as that in the American Bible Society, the Anti-Saloon League, and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Such a spirit is bound to lead them at last into organic union with each other.[1]

(7) THE ECUMENICAL METHODIST CONFERENCES

The Ecumenical Conference had its inception on May 31, 1876, in a resolution of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States in session at Baltimore, Maryland. The Bishops were thereby empowered to appoint a committee to correspond with the recognized authorities of other Methodist bodies relative to such an Ecumenical Conference. The first of these Conferences was finally held in Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, beginning September 7, 1881. Delegates representing twenty-eight different branches of Methodism came from the following countries: the United States, Canada, South America, the West Indies, Polynesia, New Zealand, Australia, China, India, Africa, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Germany, France, Scotland, Ireland and England. From October 7-18, 1891, the Second Ecumenical Methodist Conference met in Washington. Among other topics discussed were "International arbitration" and "war and peace."

[1] At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Kansas City in May, 1928, almost unanimous action was taken favouring immediate steps for union with the M.E. Church South, and with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., also for the creation of a permanent Commission on Federation and Unity which shall negotiate all approaches of unity and will make reply to the Lausanne Conference Reports.

(8) GERMAN ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE EPISCOPACY AND GERMAN LUTHERAN ORGANIC UNIONS (1701-1900)

When in 1701 Frederick I. was crowned King of Prussia at Königsberg, he appointed two of the Court preachers, Ursinus, a Calvinist minister, and Bernard von Sanden, a Lutheran, as bishops for the crowning and annointing.[1] Then, in 1704, he had the English Book of Common Prayer translated and published in German. He planned to introduce it in the Royal Chapel and in the Cathedral. He sent copies of this German edition to Queen Anne and to Archbishop Tenison of Canterbury. There has been no record discovered to indicate that the Archbishop made any reply. Frederick renewed his advances in 1710 through Dr. Grabe, an English priest of German birth, and through a Dr. Jablonski. This time he established communications with Dr. John Sharp, the Archbishop of York. Not long thereafter the Queen and her ministers showed an interest in the scheme. But on March 17, 1711, Bonnet, the Prussian Minister to the Court of St. James, informed Frederick that to pursue his plans was inadvisable, since they were most likely to fail. The King had fully intended to provide for the education of German clergy at Oxford and Cambridge. His death in 1713, and that of the Archbishop of York in 1714, made an end of the whole matter.[2]

Beginning with the publication of G. J. Planck's book,[3] in which union of the Churches in limited areas was approved, we see the rise of a Church union movement in Germany, which finally ended in the Constitution of the United Church of Prussia under Frederick William IV., and as a part of the celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of Protestantism. In 1804 Friedrich Schleiermacher urged[4] the abandonment of sectarian antagonism with certain changes in doctrine and liturgy, the union of the Churches to be accompanied by State action. Then in a book,[5] published in 1812, F. S. G. Sack advocated, for the German Churches, a joint literature; the Apostles' Creed and the Augsburg Confession for a credal basis; and the substitution of the consent of clergy and laity for State authority. Unlike Schleiermacher, Sack held that a creed was necessary for the united Church.

In 1817 Lutheran Germans sought how fittingly to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. Thirty-eight clergy, delegated by the State, assembled at Ildstein in Nassau, and decided that the most appropriate observance would be the union

[1] J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement*, Longmans Green & Co., 1914, p. 404 *ff.*

[2] Thomas Sharpe and Thomas Newcome, *The Life of John Sharp, D.D.*, London, Rivington, 1825, Vol. I, p. 448. See also the Jablonski MSS. at the Lambeth Palace Library.

[3] *Ueber die Trennung und Wiedervereinigung der getrennten Christlichen Hauptparteien*, Tübingen, 1803.

[4] *Zwei unvorgreifliche Gutachten in Sachen des protestantischen Kirchenwesens zenächst in Beziehung auf den preussischen Staat*, Berlin, 1804.

[5] *Ueber die Vereinigung der beiden protestantischen Kirchengemeinden in der preussischen Monarchie*, F. S. G. Sack, Berlin, 1812.

of both the Lutheran bodies in the duchy under the name of the Evangelical Christian Church. So also was union introduced into Prussia, but with more of preliminary preparation. On September 27, 1817, Frederick William III., by proclamation, strongly urged the union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches to form one Evangelical Christian Church. This appeal met with a hearty response, especially in Western Prussia.

What had happened in Prussia was soon duplicated in certain other German States: 1818, Rhenish Palatinate; 1817-1822, in the larger part of Hesse; 1818, in Fulda and Hanau; 1821, in Baden and Waldeck; 1821, Bernburg; 1827, Dessau; and in 1880, Köthen. Since in all these instances union was conceived as accomplished by the use of a common communion service, Frederick William suggested, and even urged, a new liturgy for the Church of Prussia. A Lutheran liturgy was formulated and accepted by the command of the State. The Reformed complained that the liturgy was too Lutheran, and the Lutherans suspicioned anti-Lutheranism. The enforced liturgy and union came to be synonomous, with consequent opposition to both. A part of the Prussian Lutherans seceded from the newly-formed National Church. Whereas in 1817, union involved the founding of a new Church that was national, by 1847 the opposition was so determined that union had come to mean merely toleration of one another.[1] By 1852 it was found necessary to abandon the practice of the "Supreme Ecclesiastical" voting as a whole on any or all questions. Thereafter they were to divide into either the Lutherans or the Reformed whenever questions involving either group in particular came up for decision. At the opening of the twentieth century the original distinctive tenets of the two Churches, united in 1817, were still very evident. A Church union dictated by the State was found to be nominal, rather than inward and thoroughly spiritual. Nevertheless, the net result is regarded as being far beyond what would have been achieved had the union never been effected.[2]

An attempt was made by Frederick William IV. of Prussia to introduce Episcopacy into his domains in 1841. He sought to revive the policy of Frederick I. in 1701. His ambition was to have a Protestant bishop, furnished by England, in Jerusalem to consecrate German pastors in Palestine there as well as German bishops. Michael Alexander, a converted Jewish rabbi, was consecrated in 1841. The plan was violently opposed by the High Church party in England. Newman declared that this was one of the blows which finally shattered his faith in the Anglican Church. The Prussian King appointed a Swiss Calvinist, Samuel Gobat, as Alexander's successor. The English appointed the successor of Gobat, but the King of Prussia failed to nominate the fourth candidate.

In 1848 a German Evangelical Church Diet was founded to establish a brotherly union amongst all evangelical Christians. W. Noel in *Report of Evangelical Alliance*, 1875, *op. cit.*

[1] Albert Hauck, of the University of Leipsic. Article on "Church Union in Germany" in the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia.*

(9) CANADIAN CHURCH UNIONS (1749-1907)

The accomplishment of Church union among Christian bodies in comparatively new countries is very much easier, and in certain respects more imperative, than in older communities. The relative ease with which representatives of such Churches get together is due to the fact that they are not so bound down by tradition, nor do they find the circumstances which created the divisions in the parent countries prevailing in their new home. Re-union becomes more imperative since distances and sparsity of population militate against too great a plurality of denominations within any given section. Such has been the situation generally throughout the years of Canadian history. Since the time when Canada was first settled, Church union has there been the order of the day.

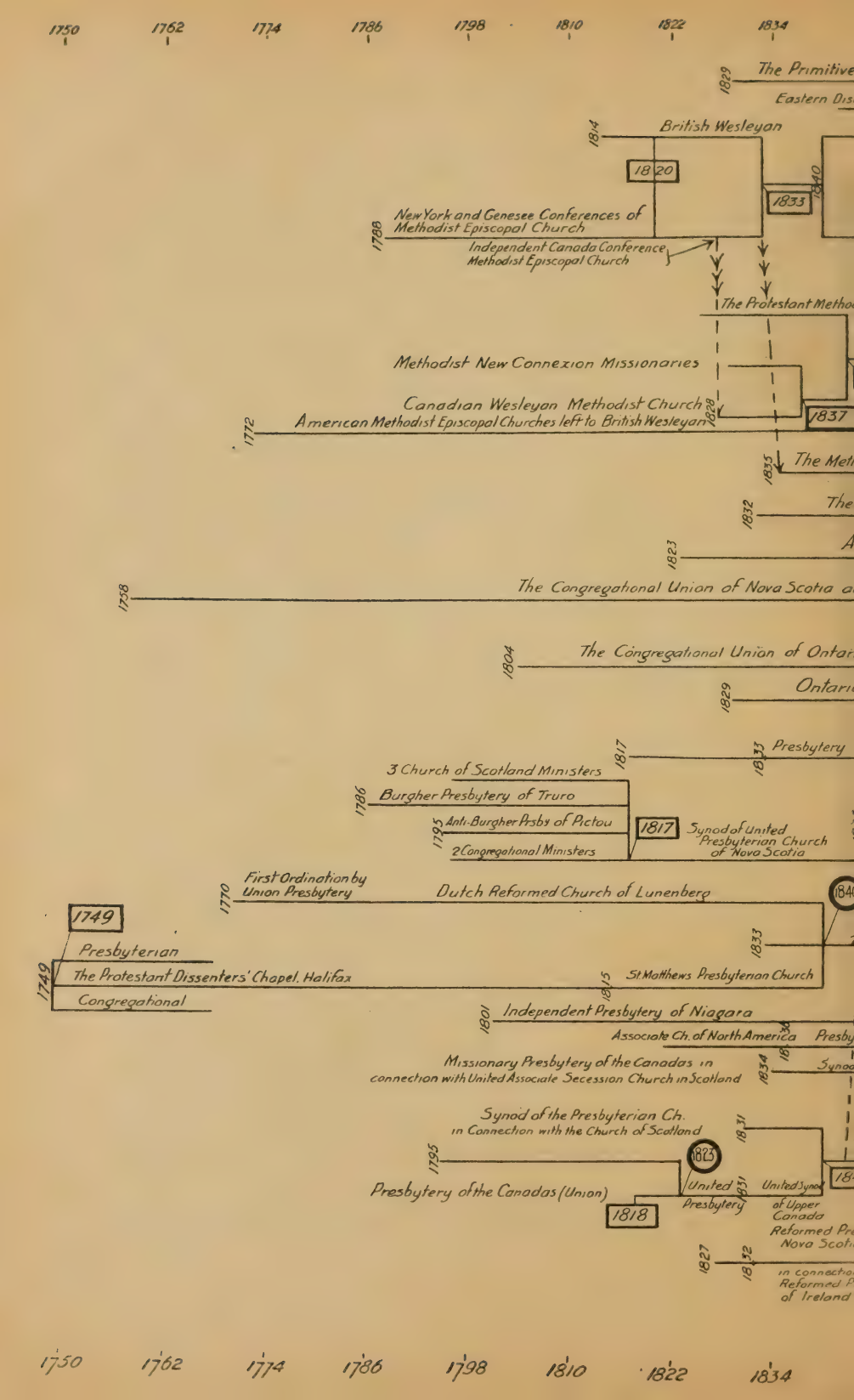
The first Nonconformist Church in Canada was "The Protestant Dissenters' Chapel," established at Halifax in 1749. It was organized by New England Congregationalists and Scotch Presbyterians into a Union Church. For several decades its ministers came from Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. The first Presbyteries in Canada were union. This was true of the one organized at Halifax in 1770. It consisted of two Congregational ministers from New England and two ministers from the Associate Secession Church of Scotland. These four clergymen ordained a minister for the Dutch Reformed Church, in which not one of them held membership. But the Rev. Bruin Romcas Comingoe was greatly blessed in his ministry.

In like manner the first Presbytery in Ontario came into existence as a result of union. Three ministers of the Associate Secession Church of Scotland, then living in Eastern Ontario, together with one missionary of the London Missionary Society, wrote to the Associate Synod of Scotland in 1817, asking that they be constituted a Presbytery. Before receiving an answer to this request they formed, in 1818, The Presbytery of the Canadas, later known as The United Presbytery. For their guidance they adopted the doctrine and polity of the Church of Scotland, of which none of them were members.[1]

The first organic union in Canada came about, as the people of the Churches involved found that the causes which led to division at home in Scotland were non-existent in Nova Scotia. But even though they made this discovery, it took them twenty years to come to the point where they would and did unite. The case is that of the Burgher Presbytery of Truro, organized in 1786, and the Anti-Burgher Presbytery of Pictou, dating back to 1795. The Burghers and Anti-Burghers were divisions of the Secession Church of Scotland.[2] None of the difficult aspects of the situation causing the division existed in Nova Scotia. Hence, in 1817, the above-named Presbyteries of that Province, together with three ministers of the Church

[1] William T. Gunn, D.D., "Uniting Three United Churches," an address published by the Joint Church Union Committee, Toronto, Canada, 1924.

[2] See p. 157.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Presbytery
3 Church of Scotland Ministers
1786
Burgher Presbytery of Truro
1795
Anti-Burgher Prsby of Pictou
2 Congregational Ministers
1817
Synod of United Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia
1770
First Ordination by Union Presbytery
Dutch Reformed Church of Lunenberg
1840
1749
Presbyterian
1749
The Protestant Dissenters' Chapel, Halifax
Congregational
1833
1815
St Matthews Presbyterian Church
1801
Independent Presbytery of Niagara
Associate Ch. of North America
Presby
1834
Synod
Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas in connection with United Associate Secession Church in Scotland
Synod of the Presbyterian Ch. in Connection with the Church of Scotland
1831
1795
1823
Presbytery of the Canadas (Union)
United Presbytery
1831
United Synod of Upper Canada
1818
Reformed Pr
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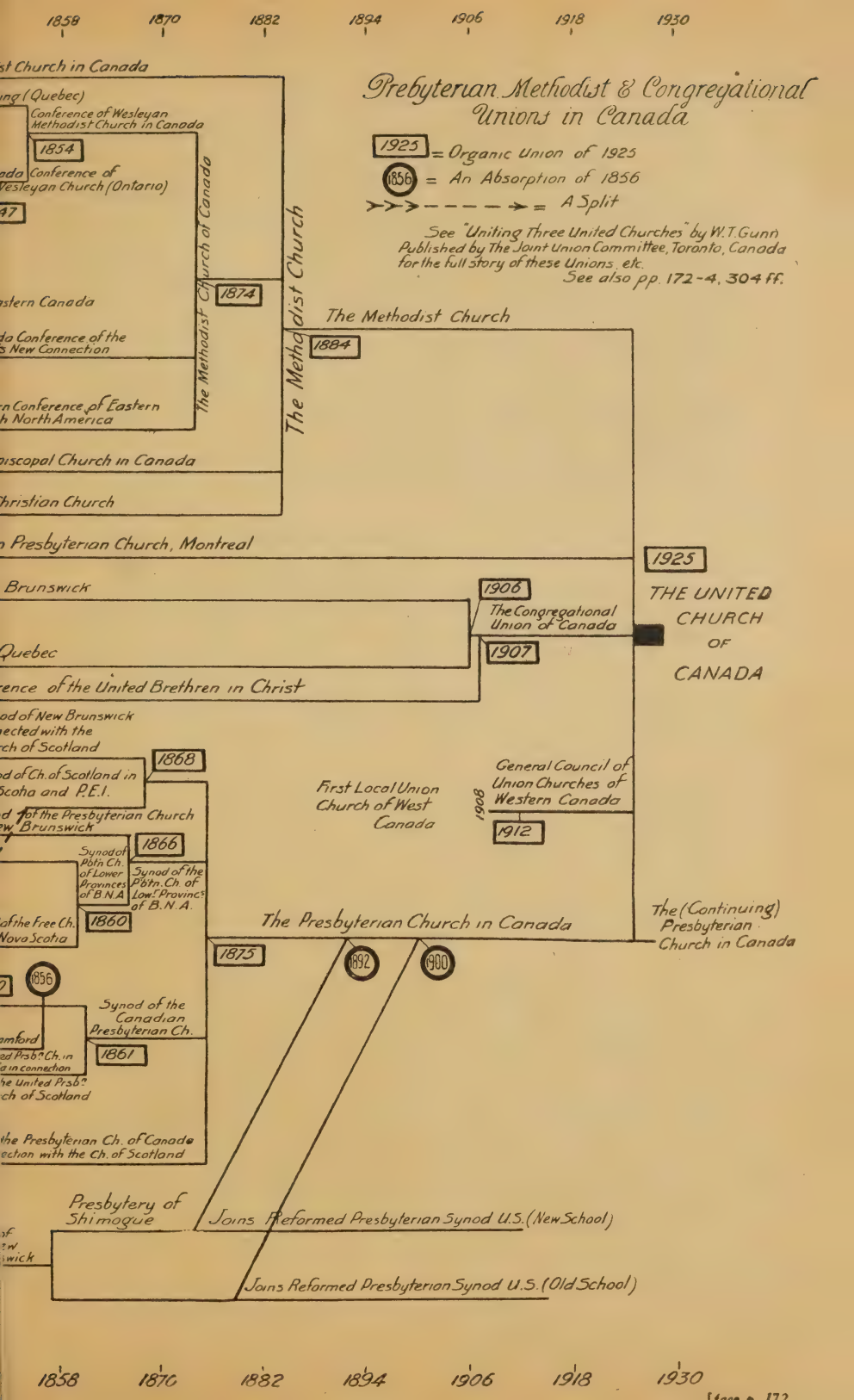
1858
1870
1882
1894
1906
1918
1930
Presbyterian Methodist & Congregational Unions in Canada
1925 = Organic Union of 1925
1856 = An Absorption of 1856
= A Split
See "Uniting Three United Churches" by W.T. Gunn Published by The Joint Union Committee, Toronto, Canada for the full story of these Unions, etc.
See also pp. 172-4, 304 ff.
st Church in Canada
ing (Quebec)
Conference of Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada
1854
ada Conference of Wesleyan Church (Ontario)
47
The Methodist Church of Canada
1874
stern Canada
da Conference of the s New Connection
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1884
piscopal Church in Canada
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n Presbyterian Church, Montreal
1925
THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA
Brunswick
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The Congregational Union of Canada
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rence of the United Brethren in Christ
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d of Ch. of Scotland in Scotia and P.E.I.
First Local Union Church of West Canada
1908
General Council of Union Churches of Western Canada
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d of the Presbyterian Church w Brunswick
1866
Synod of Pbtn Ch. of Lower Provinces of B.N.A
Synod of the Pbtn. Ch. of Low! Provinces of B.N.A.
of the Free Ch. Nova Scotia
1860
The Presbyterian Church in Canada
The (Continuing) Presbyterian Church in Canada
1875
1892
1900
1856
Synod of the Canadian Presbyterian Ch.
amford
ed Prsb? Ch. in a in connection
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1861
the Presbyterian Ch. of Canada nection with the Ch. of Scotland
Presbytery of Shimogue
Joins Reformed Presbyterian Synod U.S. (New School)
Joins Reformed Presbyterian Synod U.S. (Old School)
1858
1870
1882
1894
1906
1918
1930

of Scotland and two of the Congregational Church, united to form The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, which is generally called The United Presbyterian Synod.

Following this first organic union on the part of the Presbyterians came the first Methodist Union of a like nature which took place three years later, or in 1820. From then until 1925, there was a succession of organic unions, so that it is not at all surprising that the most outstanding example of organic union on a large scale should have taken place in the Dominion of Canada. In this connection we should study the graph which shows the whole progress of unity amongst the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational Churches in Canada.

Practically all of the nine Presbyterian, eight Methodist, and three Congregational unions, which preceded the final realization of the United Church of Canada in 1925, involved little or no change of doctrine or polity, except as they discarded items that had absolutely no local basis. The complete list of the unions consummated prior to 1925 follows :

(1) *Canadian Presbyterian Unions.*

1817—discussed in full above.

1818—The Presbytery of the Canadas (Union), united with the Dutch Reformed Presbytery in Ontario to form the United Presbytery of Upper Canada. In 1831 this became the United Synod of Upper Canada.

1840—Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland was formed by the union of the 1831(1818) United Synod of Upper Canada with the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Connection with the Church of Scotland.

1850—Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada formed by union of the Independent Presbytery of Niagara with the Free Church. A little later the Associated Church of North America, through its Presbytery of Stamford, was absorbed into this union of 1850.

1860—Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America formed by Synod of United Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia joining Synod of the Free Church of Nova Scotia.

1861—Canada Presbyterian Church formed by union of Synod of Free Presbyterian Church of Canada and Synod of United Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the United Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

1866—Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America formed by union of the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick with the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces.

1868—Synod of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island joined by Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland.

1875—Presbyterian Church in Canada formed by union of the four united Churches formed in 1840, 1861, 1866, and 1868.

(2) *Canadian Methodist Unions.*

1820—British Wesleyan in Canada, and New York and Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church entered into a union which was permanently consumated in 1847.

1833—The British Wesleyan and the New York and Genesee Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church entered into a second pact.

1837—Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connexion formed from union of Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connexion and the Protestant Methodists of Eastern Canada.

1847—British Wesleyan and New York and Genesee Conferences of Methodist Episcopal Church formally unite into Canada Conference of Wesleyan Church (Ontario).

1854—Conference of Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada formed by Eastern District Meeting (Quebec) and Canada Conference of Wesleyan Church (Ontario).

1874—Methodist Church of Canada formed by union of Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British North America; Conference of Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada; and the Canada Conference of the Methodist New Connexion.

1884—Bible Christian Church, Primitive Methodist Church in Canada, and the Methodist Church of Canada form The Methodist Church.

(3) *Canadian Congregational Unions.*

1906—The Congregational Church of Canada formed by the union of the Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec. To this union the Ontario Conference of the United Brethren in Christ was added in 1907. In 1912, the scattered congregations of Western Canada united to form the General Council of Union Churches of Western Canada.

(10) THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

A. Antecedent Events

In 1833, the Oxford Movement—later sometimes referred to as the Tractarian Movement, and called Puseyism in derision by its opponents—had its beginnings at Oxford, England. John Keble, J. H. Froude, John Henry Newman, and, very soon thereafter, E. B. Pusey, were the originators and leaders of this effort for a revival of pure Catholicism, as found in the early undivided Church, which they believed to be the correct doctrine and polity for the Church of England. This movement is mentioned here because

its rise and progress aroused an immense amount of determined and, at times, exceedingly bitter opposition not only on the part of those who wished to preserve the Protestant and evangelical life of the Church of England, but also amongst Protestants and Evangelicals in general. Many books and pamphlets were published for and against the Tractarian-Oxford Movement. There was scarcely a newspaper in Great Britain but had its columns filled with controversial correspondence, the questions involved formed the basis of discussion in office, mart, and on the street. Sermons, multiplied in number, took up the theme. The whole religious atmosphere was charged with controversy.

Certain clergymen of Evangelistical persuasion in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and the North of England issued, on August 5, 1845, an invitation to all those who, they thought, would be interested to assemble for a Conference of Evangelicals in preparation for the great meeting of all Protestant Evangelicals, which had previously been proposed, to meet in London in 1846. This invitation was signed by clergymen of the Free Churches of Scotland, including Thomas Chalmers among others; by representatives of the United Secession Church; the Relief Church; the Reformed Presbyterian Church; the Original Secession Church; Congregationalists; and Baptists. In referring to the Assembly to be held in London the following year, they spoke of its purpose as being "to associate and concentrate the strength of an enlightened Protestantism against the encroachments of Popery and Puseyism, and to promote the interests of Scriptural Christianity." A total of two hundred sixteen accepted the invitation and were present at the preliminary Conference which was held in the Lecture Room of the Medical Institution of Liverpool.[1] The denominational affiliation of those attending was as follows: English Presbyterian, twenty; Welsh Methodists, thirty-five; Wesleyan Association, three; Methodist New Connexion, five; Reformed Presbyterian, twelve; United Secession, sixteen; Welsh Congregationalists, two; Congregationalists, fifty-two; Free Church of Scotland, sixteen; Baptists, seventeen; Church of England, fourteen; Established Church of Ireland, four; Evangelical Friends, one; Irish Presbyterian, three; Associate Synod of Ulster, one; Established Church of Scotland, three; Relief Synod, four; General Baptist, two; Calvinistic Methodist, five; and Original Secession, two. Without reference to the merits or the demerits of the Movement emanating from Oxford, one cannot refrain, after scanning such a list, from saying that almost anything must be regarded as Provincial which would assemble together men from such an array of denominations, and cause them to unite in some sort of a program, not all of which, in the light of history, can be branded as having been non-constructive.

For some unknown reason, Rev. Thomas Chalmers, so prominent in its inception, was absent from the Liverpool Conference. It was in session three days, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, October

[1] See Tracts on Mission Work, Conferences on Christian Union, 1830–1875. British Museum, 4192 ee 2.

1-3. The Chairmen at the six different sections, presiding in order named, were : Rev. John Angell James, Congregationalist, Birmingham ; Dr. T. Raffles, Congregationalist, Liverpool ; Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Rector of Watton, Herts ; Dr. R. Newton, Wesleyan, Manchester ; Rev. William Innes, Baptist, Edinburgh ; and Dr. John Brown, United Secession, Edinburgh. The secretaries were : Rev. A. S. Thewall, Rev. W. Chalmers, Rev. G. Osborn, Rev. W. Bevan, and the Rev. Dr. Steane. At the 7.30 meeting on Thursday important resolutions were unanimously adopted. These were to the effect that a future meeting should be held for the promotion of Christian union, and that to this meeting should be invited only such persons as hold what are usually understood to be Evangelical views in regard to the following important matters of doctrine : (1) The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scripture. (2) The unity of the Godhead, and the trinity of persons therein. (3) The utter depravity of human nature, in consequence of the fall. (4) The incarnation of the Son of God, and His work of atonement for sinners of mankind. (5) The justification of sinners by faith alone. (6) The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner. (7) The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scripture. (8) The divine institution of the Christian ministry and the authority and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper.

At the Friday morning session it was unanimously agreed that at the proposed future meeting an institution known as " The Evangelical Alliance " should be formed. That evening they made provisions for the ends they had in view and for preparation for the coming London Conference by electing what they called Provisional Committees, each of which should represent one of the Four Divisions as designated : (1) London—Midland and Southern Counties of England and foreign countries ; (2) Liverpool—North Counties and Wales ; (3) Scotland ; (4) Ireland. They then resolved that : an aggregate meeting of the Divisions be assembled at Liverpool in January, and at Birmingham in April ; that the London Division should have power to convene an aggregate meeting at its discretion ; that the several Divisions interchange their minutes after each meeting ; and that Provisional Committees put forth their best efforts to hold such local meetings as would arouse attention for the cause of Christian re-union.

Before adjournment they passed five important resolutions, as follows : (1) Expressed thanksgiving that they had found a common ground, and belief that they should go forward to a future meeting. (2) That to this future meeting such persons be invited as hold and maintain what are usually understood to be evangelical views in regard to the eight matters of doctrine enumerated. (3) Personal views not to be compromised by membership ; the doctrinal statement not a closed system. Should resist not only the efforts of Popery, but of every form of Anti-Christian Superstition and Infidelity, and promote their common faith in their own and other countries. (4) Expressed humiliation for the divisions of the Church, and a resolve

henceforth to put away all bitterness and seek to love. (5) Intercessory prayer for the Holy Spirit to be offered.

The London Division held a special meeting as authorized by the Liverpool Conference. This took the form of a sort of continuation of that Conference, thus spreading its main messages in and about Southern England. At the London Divisional Conference Sir C. E. Smith, Bart., acted as Chairman; the Reverend Doctors Edward Bickersteth, Jabez Bunting, James Hamilton, John Leifchild, and Edward Steane were the Honorary Secretaries, while the Rev. Dr. Alexander Digby Campbell acted as the Official Secretary.

In the consideration of all movements toward unity amongst Evangelicals the nature of those movements is such that their history cannot be recorded correctly by the mere setting down of the resolutions and findings. The denominations and personalities involved in any Evangelical Re-union Congress are almost equally as important for consideration as the ecclesiastical polity, the confessions, and the creeds which may have entered into their discussions. This is particularly true as with regard to Evangelicals as contrasted with the Catholics because of the former's emphasis upon the Kingdom and the individual moral lives of the Prophets rather than upon the Church and the mediating office of the priest. The Catholic seeks unity that the organism of the Catholic Apostolic Church may have continuity, unity, universality—thus enhancing its power to mediate grace. The Evangelical seeks unity not so much for an increased mediation of grace, but rather because he knows that to reach such a goal personal holiness, that is, moral and spiritual individual perfection, must have been previously realized in the lives of the great majority of the clergy and laity. The Catholic seeks a unified organism that the organism may be a more effective witness. The Evangelical seeks unity of organizarion that the individuals thus organized may, separately and as a whole, bear witness to the Gospel that all may believe that its Christ was sent of God. All efforts to differentiate between these two Schools of Christendom must inevitably result in more or less injustice to both Schools. It is always to be understood that there is much of Evangelicalism in Catholicism, and much of Catholism in Evangelicalism. The broad distinctions are here recorded for the reason that the historian of re-union movements has a different problem when reporting such events amongst Evangelicals and when describing them amongst Catholics.

The Liverpool Conference of 1845, with the follow-up divisional conferences at London, Birmingham, and again at Liverpool made excellent preparation for the very historic gathering which met in its first session on Wednesday, August 19, 1846, in the Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, London. But before we give our attention to the events of this meeting in London, it should be recorded that there were almost simultaneous, and in some cases even earlier, movements amongst Protestant Evangelicals looking toward an alliance or union in America and on the Continent. In Great Britain the Tractarian-Oxford Movement causing a revival of Catholicism accounts mainly for the preliminary conferences that we have just described. It will be of interest to note that Evangelicalism in other

places was being moved upon by the Spirit of God who seemingly was everywhere calling a halt to tendencies for separation, and was sounding a general rallying call for union.

What is said to have been the first Society formed for the promotion of Christian union, especially on American soil, was that organized during the anniversaries of 1839, in the American Tract Society's Rooms in New York. The Rev. Dr. S. S. Schmucker,[1] a noted Lutheran of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, was the chief figure in the formation of this Society. He had written a little volume, entitled *Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches.* The newly-formed Society purchased several hundred copies of this *Fraternal Appeal,* and distributed them gratuitously. In the autumn of 1845 Dr. Schmucker prepared an extended address on the subject of Christian Union. To this address, as published, he appended his own name and those of forty-one other clergymen whose permission for so doing he had secured.[2] This address was distributed under the title of *Overture on Christian Union,* and invited a meeting to assemble in New York during the anniversary week of 1846. "But," said Dr. Schmucker, "soon after its publication, however, the invitation to the Evangelical Alliance in London in August, 1846, reached this country."[3]

Since Dr. Schmucker's *Overture on Christian Union,* which, with the *Fraternal Appeal,* was admitted as having had a very great influence in helping to found the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches in England as well as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, had such a profound influence both in America and England in promoting the movements which led to the organization of the English Evangelical Alliance in 1846, and of the American Evangelical Alliance in 1876, it is important that we record here a brief summary and outline of the *Overture.*[4]

[1] Dr. Samuel S. Schmucker, one of the founders and for forty years president of the Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, U.S.A., retired from active duties in 1864. While a delegate to the 1846 Conference at Freemasons' Hall, London, he was called by Dr. King the "Father of the Alliance," which was founded at that time. See *The Lutherans in America,* by E. J. Wolf; also *The History of the Federal Council of Churches* (U.S.A.), by Elias B. Sanford. S. S. Scranton Co., Hartford, 1916, pp. 89–92. See also Dr. Schmucker, *The True Unity of Christ's Church,* few copies of which are now extant, one being in the library of the Gettysburg Theological Seminary, according to Sanford, *op. cit.,* p. 90.

[2] The signers were as follows: Five members of the Committee on Christian Union of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, U.S.; 3 of the Cumberland Presbyterian General Assembly for Christian Union; Pres. D. McConaughty, of Washington College, Pa.; the Sec. of the American Evangelical Society; 4 editors of religious journals; 5 college professors; 11 Presbyterian pastors; 3 Methodist Episcopal; 2 Congregational; 2 Baptist; 2 German Reformed; and 1 each Protestant Episcopal, Lutheran, and Methodist Episcopal—all pastors.

[3] See *Evangelical Alliance, Conference,* 1873, edited by Dr. Philip Schaff and Dr. S. I. Prime; London, Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1874. Appendix II, p. 442 *ff.*

[4] See Dr. Schaff and Dr. S. I. Prime, London, *op. cit.,* Appendix II, p. 442 *ff.* See also E. B. Sanford, *op. cit.,* Appendix, Chap. IV, pp. 404–420. Sanford dates this "Overture" as 1838, when it is contradicted by the statement on p. 409, where Sr. Schmucker refers to the Liverpool Meeting (of 1845) as having been held "a few weeks since."

The *Overture* begins with exhortations hinging around the words of Christ, "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." "Neither pray I for thee alone, but for them also who shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou Father art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." Paul's words are also cited: "There is one body and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism."

In the Scriptures there is unity in fundamentals with diversity in non-essentials. Geographical designations to Churches are allowed, but sectarian names are discountenanced. "Sacramental and ministerial intercommunion" was "important," and "incontestably established." Present-day divisions, however, "prejudice the ungodly world against Christianity itself." "The weakness of Protestantism undoubtedly lies in its divided and disjointed state; or, rather, in the principle on which its divisions are constructed .... The very principle of the divisions habitually intrudes sinister or at least secondary objects, so as virtually to postpone the claims of fundamental Christianity to those of separate sects .... thus greatly impairing the moral influence of the Gospel, and impeding the formation of a current Christian sentiment throughout the world .... The time is at hand .... to heal *the great schism*, to resist the encroachments of this Antichrist of the Protestant Churches."

At this point in the *Overture* a record is made of Christian union movements within Europe, Great Britain, and the United States in the period immediately preceding the address. The author states: "In our own country different associations have existed, and several public meetings have of late been held, attended by some of the most respectable divines of our country for the promotion of Christian union; and the spirit of Christian union was increasingly manifest during the anniversaries of our national societies at New York last spring. In Europe, the effort has been headed by such men as Dr. Merle D'Aubigne of Geneva, Rev. Monod of France, Rev. Kuntze of Prussia, Dr. Harris of England, Dr. Chalmers of Scotland. 'I trust,' said Dr. Chalmers, when introducing to the Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland his friends from the continent, 'you will not charge me with over-liberality if I say, as I do from my conscience, that among the great majority of Evangelical Dissenters in this country, I am not aware of any topics of difference which I do not regard as so many men of straw, and I shall be exceedingly glad if these gentlemen get the hearts of the various denominations to meet together and consent to make a bonfire of them.' During the late session of that Assembly a delightful meeting was held in Edinburgh for the promotion of Christian union, at which the practice of union was most happily exemplified, as was its theory forcibly established. At this meeting not less than eight different denominations were represented, *viz.*: the Reformed Church of France and Geneva, the Episcopal, the Free Church, the Secession Church, the Wesleyan Methodist, the Baptist, and the Independent Churches. A subsequent still larger meeting was held a few weeks since in

Liverpool, in which persons of nineteen different denominations participated, and glorious progress for union was made.

"In like manner, at the recent meeting of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States, convened in Philadelphia, the subject of Christian Union was discussed and acted on with great interest and deliberateness. Two plans were proposed, one by the Rev. Dr. Stockton, of the Protestant Methodist Church, and one by Rev. Dr. Schmucker, the chairman of the General Synod's committee. Whilst some features of the former were regarded with much favour, the latter plan was adopted in full, as embodied in the following resolutions," of which a summary follows herewith.

(1) Each denominational body is asked to appoint a "Committee of Conference on Christian Union."

(2) This Committee is to confer with similar Committees from other denominations relative to Christian Union, and to report back all findings to its own denominational Supreme Court.

(3) The aim is not amalgamation of the several denominations into one Church, nor the impairment in any degree of the independent control of each denomination over its own affairs and interests, but to present to the world a practical proof of their recognition of each other as integral parts of the visible Church of Christ on earth.

(4) So far as the General Synod of the Lutheran Church is concerned, this Committee shall consist of three ministers and two laymen. The Committee shall follow the leadings of Providence, and only such steps shall be taken as can be adopted with considerable unanimity. The fundamental principles that would seem to be necessary in any plan of union are as follows:

(1) No requirement of renunciation of doctrines or opinions believed to be true, nor profession of anything regarded as false. When one denomination joins this union, this does not imply sanction of the peculiarities of any other.

(2) Each denomination shall retain its right to have its own organization for government, discipline, and worship.

(3) The plan must not suppress discussion, if this is carried on in the spirit of Christian love.

(4) "The plan must be such as is applicable to all Evangelical fundamentally Orthodox Churches."

(5) "Each denomination may at option adopt any part or all the proposed features of union."

With the foregoing preliminary specifications they proposed that:

(1) "Any denomination wishing to accede to this Union can do so by a resolution of its highest judiciary, embodying its assent to the common ground of Christian Doctrine, as exhibited, for the present, in the appended selection from the articles of the principal Protestant Confessions."[1] The common ground of Christian Doctrine, as worked out by Dr. Schmucker, was styled the "United Apostolic Protestant Confession." Each denomination was asked to examine

[1] E. B. Sanford, *op. cit.*, p. 412, footnote, states that "this selected credal statement, submitted by Dr. Schmucker, was worked out with great care and skill."

this credal statement, and to except any part or clause it might wish, the section thus excepted to be thereafter omitted by all, for the aim was that only the doctrines received by all the so-called Evangelical Orthodox Christians should be found in this credal basis. Each denomination was, in the meantime, to retain its own creed. In local communities sister Churches might voluntarily associate themselves for the advancement of the Bible, Tract, and Sunday School causes.

(2) The Supreme Judicatories of the several denominations should both send and receive delegates each to the other, these delegates to have advisory but not voting powers.

(3) Co-operation of the different associated Churches in voluntary associations, especially in connection with Bible, Tract, Sabbath School, and Foreign Missionary Societies should be encouraged.

(4) The Bible should be the text-book in all theological, congregational, and Sabbath School instruction.

(5) Union Anniversary Celebrations and universal Protestant conventions are suggested.

(6) Free sacramental communion should be occasionally practised by all whose views of duty allow it.

(7) " The formal adoption of these features, or any part of them, if the first be included, shall constitute the adopting body an integral part of the Apostolic Protestant Union."

The foregoing plan was presented for the preliminary consideration of the Churches. It was announced that a formal meeting for its consideration would be held the following May, at the time of the Anniversaries in New York of such groups as the Bible and Tract Society.

At the great New York Meeting of the Evangelical Alliance held in 1873 Dr. William Adams, in welcoming the delegates, paid very high tribute to Dr. Schmucker for his work in the furtherance of Christian union. Dr. F. W. Conrad of Philadelphia, in an address at the same Conference, referred to Dr. Schmucker as " one of the originators and supporters of the Evangelical Alliance," declaring that his *Fraternal Appeal* (which had passed through several editions in revised and enlarged forms since its publication in 1838), had aroused a very pronounced and widespread spirit looking toward Christian union in America and elsewhere, and that that spirit had played a very important part in the organization of the Evangelical Alliance in London in 1846. Dr. Schmucker had prepared a plan for the confederation of all Protestant denominations in an Evangelical Alliance of the entire Christian World, and a copy of the scheme was laid before the New York Meeting of 1873, but its author had died on the twenty-sixth day of the preceding July. This plan will receive further consideration in connection with the alliance Conference of 1873.

Previous to the founding of the Alliance the Gustavus Adolphus Union, described as the " elder brother of the Alliance,"[1] had been

[1] *Evangelical Alliance, Conference of* 1873, *op. cit.*, for address of the Rev. W. Noël, Secretary of the German Evangelical Church Diet.

brought into existence in 1843. It included the members of all the German Reformed Churches and gave financial support for the erection of both Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches in all lands. By 1873 it had spent more than 200,000 thalers in over one thousand communities. The work of the Union was characterized by Dr. Noël as " a balm spread on wounds inflicted by the Jesuits." Inasmuch as the Evangelical Alliance itself has always stressed from the beginning the guarantee of religious liberty, it is interesting to note that this earlier Union interested itself in similar work.

There are records also of stirrings toward unity among other Evangelical groups in many different lands.[1] The one hundred thirty-two clergymen, students, and laymen in Geneva who addressed a letter to those that met at Liverpool in October, 1845, said that they had felt for several years that it was at once a duty and a blessing to cultivate Christian union. Every month they were holding a public assembly devoted to Evangelical Missions, and another more private meeting for reading, prayer, and brotherly conversation. It was at one of these meetings that the official report of the Liverpool Meeting came to them. They wrote, also, that it behooved the Reformed Church to exhibit its spiritual and real unity. Amongst the representatives of various denominations signing was Dr. Merle D'Aubigne.

Heartiest greetings, congratulations, and best wishes were sent to the London Conference of 1846 from a Conference held in Berlin, June 11, 1846, when fifty-six ministers and laymen were present. Similar greetings came from the Evangelical Synod of Tecklenburg, Germany ; from a pastoral conference of Evangelical ministers at Königsberg ; from fifteen clergymen of various denominations in Capetown, South Africa ; and from missionaries in the Agra District of India.

In Montreal, Canada, there was already an Evangelical Alliance, which on February 25, 1846, wrote that they were about to publish a monthly periodical called, *The Canada Protestant Herald*. On May 13, 1846, the Toronto Association for Christian Union was formed after two years of deliberation. In their platform they sought after the promotion of personal piety, the vindication of the essential principles of the Protestant Reformation, and the suppression of infidelity together with the elevation of the love of morality in every community. The Evangelical Alliance in Perth, Canada, sent a letter of good wishes, dated June 22, 1846, in which they stated that they had already been in existence as an Alliance for several months.[2]

The Christian ministers of Baltimore, Maryland, sent four delegates representing various denominations. On May 12 and 13, 1846, a Convention of " The Friends of Christian Union " was held in Dr. Skinner's Church in Albany, New York. In nine resolutions they sanctioned the call sent out from Liverpool, and the doctrinal requirements set down at that meeting.

Speaking at the great World Alliance Conference in New York,

[1] *The Evangelical Alliance, Conference*, 1873, *op. cit.*, Appendix A, p. 105 *ff.*
[2] *Idem*, p. xx, *ff.*

in 1873, the Rev. James Davis, Secretary of the British Alliance,[1] whose subject was the history of the organization, names a meeting of ministers in the Wesleyan Centenary Hall, London, February, 1845, as that which inaugurated the movement as far as that city was concerned. This led to the great mass meeting held in Exeter Hall in June, 1845, when members of the Church of England, and of the Congregational, Baptist, Moravian, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Calvinistic Churches met to further the interests of Evangelicalism. The Free Church of Scotland also formally approved, although its delegates were unable to attend. The feeling thus aroused was augmented by the celebration of the Bi-Centenary of the Westminster Assembly at a great gathering in Edinburgh in July, 1846. In connection with this celebration and what followed Secretary Davis said: "The arguments and earnest language of one of the speakers forcibly impressed John Henderson, Esq., of Park, Glasgow, to whom the idea at once presented itself of a treatise on the subject. A volume of essays, to which some eminent men contributed, gave point and force to the proposal emanating *in the first instance* from the Rev. Dr. Patton[2] of America in a letter to the late Rev. Angell James—that a great Conference of delegates from the Evangelical Churches of the World should be held in London." This statement by an English leader, together with the British acknowledgement of Dr. Schmucker of Gettysburg as the "Father of the Alliance," gives quite convincing evidence as to the origins of these particular movements toward unity amongst Evangelicals.

B. The Evangelical Alliance Founded—1846

The Evangelical Alliance finally came into actual existence at the historic assemblage of over eight hundred leaders, from many different countries, in Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, London. The first session was on August 19, 1846. Many of those present have testified to the overwhelming presence of the Spirit of God on that day. The leaders of Protestant Evangelicalism from many different lands were actually in union assembly for the first time in the history of the Church. On the motion of Dr. Jabez Bunting, the Rev. Edward Bickersteth presided over the devotional exercises. Prayers were offered by the Rev. J. Angell James of England and by the Rev. Dr. S. H. Cox of New York. Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart., was elected as Chairman of the Conference. On the preceding evening, Tuesday, August 18, there had been an important Aggregate Meeting of the Provisional Committee. All things moved smoothly until the morning session of August 28, when the Rev. J. H. Hinton introduced a resolution that slave-holders should not be admitted to sessions of the Conference. From that time until the adjournment this question was uppermost in the agenda. Dr. Stephen Olin, President of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, proved

[1] *The Evangelical Alliance, Conference*, 1873, *op. cit.*, p. xx, *ff.*

[2] This was Dr. William Patton, who, with Dr. Lyman Beecher, was later an American Congregational delegate to the London Meeting of 1846.

to be the statesman who saved the Conference from total disruption. He moved, and finally succeeded in persuading the Conference to carry a resolution, to the effect that the question of whether or not slave-holders should be admitted to membership should be left to the discretion of the national Branches, and that the Branches should be enjoined not to admit slave-holders who were such by their own fault. This resolution not only gave a happy solution as to who should be admitted to membership, but it carried with it the fortunate suggestion that instead of the Alliance having strictly uniform and wholly centralized control, it should have various national head-quarters with a considerable amount of local autonomy.

A credal basis for all branches was, however, adopted, this Basis being described as containing what are usually understood to be Evangelical views in regard to matters of doctrine. It has been retained until this present day. The best friends of the Alliance are inclined to believe that one of its weaknesses and one of the reasons for its decline and the ascendancy of State and National Federations of Churches in its place is the fact that it has this formal and rather involved theological test in its constitution. The views set forth in the Basis as finally adopted were as follows: (1) The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures; (2) The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. (3) The Unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein. (4) The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall. (5) The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of atonement for sinners of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign. (6) The justification of the sinner by faith alone. (7) The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner. (8) The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked. (9) The Divine Institution of the Christian Ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It was distinctly specified that the foregoing[1] was simply to be used as a guide in indicating what persons would make desirable members of the Alliance. Membership was to be as individuals, and not as Churches. The formation of a new ecclesiastical organization was not intended.

The objects in organizing the Evangelical Alliance were stated in the resolutions which this Conference passed as being: to confess the reality of the *one Church*, not to create it; while recognizing the essential unity of the Church, they deplore the divisions, confess their sinfulness, and do now take steps towards attaining a state of mind and feeling more in accord with the spirit of Jesus; they therefore ally themselves together to cultivate brotherly love, enjoy Christian intercourse, and to promote such objects as they may agree hereafter to prosecute together; in furtherance of these objects, they

[1] See p. 176 and note that save for point (8) this Basis followed the standard set at the Liverpool Meeting of 1845.

are ready to maintain sympathetic communications with those who are engaged amidst peculiar difficulties and opposition in the cause of the Gospel; and "In subserving to the same great object, the Alliance endeavours to exert a beneficial influence on the advancement of Evangelical Protestantism, and on the counteraction of Infidelity, Popery, and other forms of superstition, error, and profaneness, especially the desecration of the Lord's Day."

Provisions were made for the Alliance to be divided into seven Branches: The United States of America; The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; France, Belgium, and French Switzerland; The North of Germany; The South of Germany and German Switzerland; British North America; and The West Indies. In the years since, the Alliance has extended its activities to the newer fields of Christian endeavour. The work of maintaining the sanctity of the Sabbath has, in more recent times, been taken up separately by specially-organized Lord's Day Leagues, some of which are nation-wide in their labours, and all of which are interdenominational or union in their ecclesiastical character.

C. Events Following Inauguration of Alliance

Upon the adjournment of the London Conference of 1846 it remained with the delegates from the various countries named as being included within the territory of each of the proposed Branches to organize. Those from the United States did not take action until January, 1867. The slavery debate in London had raised real difficulties for them. The German Evangelicals had previously inaugurated unity movements among themselves,[1] as indeed had been the case in the United States. In 1878, at a meeting in Wittenburg, the burial place of Luther, the German Evangelical Diet (*Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag*), was founded.[2] Its purpose was to establish a brotherly union of all German Evangelical Christians, who stood on the ground of the Protestant progessions of faith, and held Christ to be the only begotten Son of God, who was crucified and rose again from the dead. By 1873 this Diet had held sixteen meetings, and had succeeded in forming a confederacy of the different Evangelical Churches. At the 1869 meeting of this Diet at Stuttgart Dr. Philip Schaff extended to them the invitation of the American Evangelical Alliance to attend the proposed union meeting of all Evangelicals in New York City in 1873. But the existence of this Diet did not permanently deter the formation of the German Evangelical Alliance or that of those proposed for the other section of Europe.

In 1851 the First General Council of the Evangelical Alliance met in London. There were sixty delegates present from France, forty from Switzerland, one from Belgium, twenty-two from Holland, forty-seven from Germany, six from Sweden, twenty-two

[1] See p. 170 *ff.*

[2] *The Evangelical Alliance Conference*, 1873, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–200, for the address by Rev. W. Noël, Sec. of the Evangelical Church Diet.

from the United States, and also representatives from the East and West Indies, Africa, and China. In 1855 the World Meeting was held in Paris. At the Holy Communion the service was said in six different languages. Decided action was taken in favour of religious liberty.

A very memorable meeting was held in Berlin in September, 1857, by the special invitation of Frederick William IV., King of Prussia. In response to this most gracious invitation the British Christians of all denominations issued an address to their Continental brethren, over three thousand persons of prominence signing that address. The Archbishop of Canterbury and several bishops of the Anglican Church of England and Ireland, gave utterance in the Press to their great sympathy with the most hearty acceptance of the invitation from the Royalty and Evangelicals of Berlin. A public meeting in London, favouring the acceptance, was presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and another at Lambeth Palace had the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair. At that meeting held at Lambeth Palace in 1857, numerous bishops and clergymen, Non-Conformist ministers, pastors from abroad, besides noblemen and laymen, were present to show their cordial approval. At the Berlin Conference on Friday, September 12th, twelve hundred of the delegates were taken by three special trains to the Potsdam Palace where the King and Queen received them. In his address the King said, in part, "I have always felt the most earnest desire to promote such a union amongst Christians and hitherto it has appeared impossible ; but now I rejoice to see it. The first step is taken . . . . My wish and most fervent prayer is that there may descend upon all the members of the Conference an effusion of the Spirit of God like that which fell on the first disciples at Pentecost."

The next meeting of the world-wide Alliance was held in the Cathedral of St. Peter at Geneva in September, 1861. Besides having a very strong programme of addresses, it was this Conference which first inaugurated the great open-air evangelistic meetings at these gatherings. On August 10, 1867, the Alliance met in the New Church Cathedral of Amsterdam with four thousand present at the first session. The hymns were printed in four languages. Park Hall and other spacious buildings in the city were used for the "Revival" services. The Conference adjourned to attend the annual gathering of the Dutch Missionary Societies. On this occasion some twenty thousand were assembled.[1]

The following meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York City in 1873 was the greatest in its entire history. The story of that significant assembly is told in connection with the account of the American Evangelical Alliance.[2] Following the New York conference some of the meetings have been held as follows : Basle, 1879 ; Copenhagen, 1884, when Dr. Philip Schaff of New York was the executive genius ; Florence, Italy, 1891 ; and in 1896[3] and 1907 as

[1] See the address of the Rev. James Davis, *The Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, op. cit.*, for the history of this and the preceding Conferences.

[2] See p. 187–189.

[3] *Jubilee of the Evangelical Alliance*, London, 1896.

well as in more recent years. Various causes have contributed to the decline of the Alliance, so that State, National, and International Federations of Churches now hold the first place among Protestant or Evangelical co-operative movements. But the Alliance has accomplished, and will yet accomplish, a very great work in preparing the way for the more modern forms of Christian co-operation and union.

(11) THE AMERICAN EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

We have just studied the various movements on both sides of the Atlantic which led to the organization of the British Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, August 19–September 2, 1846. We noted the very significant part which Dr. S. S. Schmucker of Gettysburg, Pa., played as the so-called "Father of the Alliance." Dr. Stephen Olin, the second president of Wesleyan University (1839-1851),[1] and a Methodist Episcopalian, was, as we stated previously, one of the most influential delegates at the London Conference which founded the Evangelical Alliance. His irenical addresses and his statesmanlike work were what prevented that Conference from disrupting entirely over the slavery question as it affected certain American delegates.[2] At the same Conference Dr. Lyman Beecher and Dr. William Patton ably represented the American Congregationalists. In 1857 Bishop Matthew Simpson and Dr. John McClintock, both of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, were delegates to the World Evangelical Alliance Meeting in Berlin. In a letter, written by Dr. McClintock at that time, he told of the sermon preached by Bishop Simpson in the Emperor's Royal Garrison Church. That was the first sermon preached by an Evangelical minister, either English or American, in the Prussian Established Church. The Bishop showed that Christian Unity was possible, that it was desirable, and that it was essential to the world's conversion. He pleaded not for unity in belief or worship, but for unity in activities and labours for the advancement of Christ's kingdom.[3]

The very great struggle in the London Conference of 1846, over the question of slavery, made it unadvisable to attempt the formation of the American Branch of the World Evangelical Alliance at that particular time. It was January, 1867, before the American Branch of the Alliance was founded. Its purposes were: co-operation with other Branches of the Alliance; the promotion of religious liberty; the counteraction of infidelity and superstition; and the strengthening of union and fellowship amongst Protestant Evangelicals. Its first official act was to send delegates to the Conference of the World Alliance held in Amsterdam, in 1867. At this

[1] E. B. Sanford, *op. cit.*, p. 353. See also Evangelical Alliance, *Report of Conference of* 1846, in Freemasons' Hall, London. Published 1846, London, Partridge & Oakey.

[2] *Report of Conference of* 1846, *op. cit.* Also *The New Englander* Magazine, Vol. V, p. 102 *ff*,. 1847.

[3] See *Life of Bishop Simpson*, pp. 343, 344, as cited by E. B. Sanford, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

Conference the American delegates invited the Alliance to hold its next meeting in New York. Certain delays and questions of jurisdiction arose, so it was only by the help of Dr. Philip Schaff,[1] who visited Europe four times, that the proposed Union Alliance Conference was held in New York in 1873.

Dr. Schaff was not only mainly responsible for the Conference being held in New York, but he did most of the work in preparing the program. Altogether this proved to be the greatest meeting of Protestant Evangelicals on record up to that time. There were five hundred eighty-six delegates registered. Besides these there were eight hundred visitors in almost constant attendance, necessitating daily overflow-meetings, though Steinway Hall was the Conference headquarters. The Rev. Theodore D. Woolsey, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale University, was the President, and Dr. Schaff and Dr. S. I. Prime acted as Executive Secretaries.[2] Saturday, October 4, 1873, was given over entirely to the subject of "Church Union."[3] The representative character of the speakers listed in the footnote is self-evident. Their manner of handling their various subjects was both scholarly and persuasive. Elsewhere in our study reference is made to the subject-matter of some of these addresses. The trend of the argument of some appears in the wording of their subjects. The whole program of that memorable day was most suggestive and stimulating, and the net result was the placing of the subsequent efforts towards union between the Evangelicals on a higher plane than the mere getting together for the purpose of counteracting the advances or policies of Catholicism. That day was the climax of the memorable New York Conference of 1873. Henceforth, there was a steadily increasing demand among the Evangelicals in America, England, and Europe that there should

[1] Dr. Philip Schaff, Dr. S. S. Schmucker, and Dr. William North Rice, the latter of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., are named by Dr. E. B. Sanford as the three chief pioneers in the U.S.A. in the movements leading to evangelical alliance, and later federation. (E. B. Sanford, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV, p. 87 *ff.*) Dr. Schaff, great scholar, theologian, and Church historian, was from 1869 Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. The immediate cause of his death, Oct. 20th, 1893, was his journey to Chicago, where on Sept. 22nd, at the Columbian Exposition, he gave his great address on "The Re-union of Christendom."

[2] See *Evangelical Alliance Conference*, 1873, *op. cit.*

[3] The first speaker, Rev. Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, took as his subject "The Unity of the Church Based on Personal Union with Christ." The Very Rev. Dr. R. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury, in an able address urged that Christian union is consistent with denominational distinctions. The other speakers of that day, with their subjects, were as follows: The Rt. Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Ohio, "Spiritual Union, Not Organic Union"; Rev. E. N. Potter, President of Union College, Schenectady, N.Y., "The Communion of Saints"; Rev. George R. Crooks, D.D., of New York, "Christian Love the Bond of Christian Union"; Rev. C. Dallas Marston, Vicar of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, London, "The Communion of Saints"; Rev. Emile F. Cook, Paris, "The Evangelical Alliance in France"; Rev. F. W. Conrad, Philadelphia, "Interchange of Pulpits"; Rev. William Augustus Muhlenburg, D.D., of N.Y., "The Lord's Supper in Relation to Church Union"; Dr. John Stoughton, of London, "The Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Relations of America to England"; Rev. James Davis, Supt. of the British Alliance, London, "The Evangelical Alliance: Its Origin, Objects, and Operations"; and Rev. W. Noël, Secretary of the German Evangelical Church Diet, "The Alliance in Germany."

be federation for Christian service within, and between, these countries.

The American Evangelical Alliance received a very great impetus as a result of the New York Meeting. In common with the other Branches of the Alliance, it has promoted the Annual "Week of Prayer" which it originated in the United States. It has also promoted religious freedom, furthered evangelism, and supported all sorts of national campaigns for the advance of the Kingdom.

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EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY CATHOLIC EFFORTS TOWARDS UNITY

" Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second like unto it is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hangeth the whole law, and the prophets."

—S. Matthew, xxii, 37–40.

" All these worketh the one and the same spirit, dividing to each one severally even as he will. For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body ; so also is Christ. For in the Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free ; and were all made to drink of one Spirit, For the body is not one member, but many."

—I Corinthians, xii, 11–14.

" Thou who hast fixed unshaken
Thy Church's mighty frame,
So that hell-gates shall never
Prevail against the same ;
Bestow upon Thy people
Thy peace, that we may bring
One voice, one hymn, one spirit
To glorify our King."

—S. Theodore of Studium.
(Translated by John Mason Neale.)

CHAPTER V

Roman, Eastern, Anglican, and Old Catholic Re-union Efforts (*c.a.* 1714-1900)

(1) UNITY ACTIVITIES RELATED TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (1700-1900)

When in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the first part of the eighteenth, the Anglican Church was cultivating close relations with the Orthodox Churches of the East by providing for the education of some of the students from the latter at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, Rome became very jealous and succeeded in inducing certain of these students to leave Oxford for Paris.[1] The interference of the Roman Church in the Wake-du Pin correspondence and in the Jansenist-Gallican efforts at union, chiefly through Cardinal Noailles, has already been noted.[2] The opposition to Courayer who sought to show that the Anglican ordinations were sufficiently valid as not to warrant reordination when any of the English clergy might seek entrance into the Roman Church, especially into the Gallican group of that Communion, was engineered by the Jesuit Order.[3]

This Order was suppressed by a Bull of Pope Clement XIV., dated July 21, 1773. It stated: "Our dearly beloved sons in Christ, the Kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily found themselves reduced to the necessity of expelling and driving from the states, kingdoms, and provinces, these very companions of Jesus. After a mature deliberation, we do, out of our certain knowledge and in the fullness of our apostolical power, suppress and abolish the said society. We declare all, and all kind of authority, the general, the provincial, and the superiors of the said Society to be for ever annulled and extinguished. Our will and pleasure is that these letters should for ever and to all eternity be valid, permanent and efficacious." But this "will and pleasure" of Clement XIV was not regarded by Pope Pius VII., for, in 1814, in a Bull, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, the Jesuits were again permitted to exist. In the early part of the eighteenth century this Order was more or less in an eclipse.

It was this temporary cessation of the Jesuits' more zealous activities which probably explains the fact that Pope Innocent XIII. (Michael Angelo Conti), was reported to have desired to call an Ecumenical Council for the purpose of promoting the re-union of all the Churches, of "drawing all Christendom under one form of Church Government." Of Innocent XIII. it was said, "Though he is a person of singular piety, he appears to be no bigot. This unexpected news

[1] See p. 96. [2] See p. 72 *ff.* [3] See pp. 81.

has made so much noise in the world, that in the Protestant Courts of Europe it is the common saying now that the Pope has turned Protestant. It is certain that, for a time, there has been a chapel allowed in the palace of the Chevalier de St. George, where divine service is regularly performed according to the rites of the Church of England, and that two ministers of good reputation for learning officiate there. It is to be observed that the frightful notion the common people entertained of a heretic is quite worn off, and that when a Protestant now dies in Rome, he is admitted to be buried in consecrated ground, which is a new privilege. This favour, as well as the kind disposition of the Pope himself seems to entertain of a union amongst the Christian Churches, is supposed to come from the influence of the English, who reside in the Roman territory."[1]

In Thomas Hearne's diary for February 7, 1724, we read, " By our letters from Rome we are advised that the Pope has not only commanded the inferior clergy to recommend to the People the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, but that he designs to employ Men of Skill and Learning in making a more correct Translation of the holy Bible, if possible, than is yet extant. It is said that he has also declared, that, as Customs and Ceremonies are not matters of Faith, he is willing the Church should lay aside part of her Drapery, that the Reform'd may no longer have a Pretence of quarrelling with their ancient mother, (as they call her at Rome), nay, some have gone so far as to say, that he has some design of calling a general Council, and that thus, by meeting the Protestants, as it were, half way, he is not without Hopes of drawing all Christendom under one form of Church Discipline."[2]

The death of Innocent XIII. on March 7th of that year brought to an end whatever of these splendid intentions was really serious. For the next eighty-five years there were no efforts of importance on the part of any within or without the Church of Rome to negotiate Church union. This period was a time of vast colonial expansion. It was also the time of the American and French Revolutions. The tendency was rather to seek an unshackled independence than to seek union within any ancient institution, whether Church or State.

In 1811 we find Roman re-union matters being again revived, this time by Dr. Shute Barrington, the Bishop of Durham, when he published his " Grounds of Union between the Churches of England and Rome, considered in a charge delivered to the Clergy of the Dio-

[1] *Reliquiæ*, Vol. II, second edition, p. 217, London, in the Library of Old Authors, edited by P. Bliss. The substance of the quotation from Hearne's Diary was taken from *Mist's Journal* of Feb. 6th, 1724–1725, No. 328.

See also the *Union Review*, vol. for 1874, p. 11 *ff.* and footnote, p. 18.

[2] *Reliquiæ Herniancæ, op. cit.*, Feb. 7th, 1724. J. Wickham Legg, in his *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement*, Longmans Green & Co., London, 1914, p. 413, states that this was Pope Benedict XIII., and cites Hearne's *Diary* as above, also J. H. Zedler's *Lexicon*, Halle and Leipzic, 1733, Bd. iii, col. 1116. But Zedler's *Lexicon* as cited is giving the history of Pope Benedict XIV., not Benedict XIII. Furthermore, Benedict XIII. did not become Pope until May 29th, 1724, while Pope Innocent XIII. died March 7th, 1724. Mr. Hearne, in an entry of Feb. 7th, of that year, could only have referred to Innocent XIII.

cese of Durham." In this the Bishop argued that the time was ripe for the Church of England to re-unite with Rome. To this end every effort should be made to understand each other. Mr. Charles Butler, the Bishop's legal adviser, did his best to carry out Dr. Barrington's suggestion by setting forth in an Essay[1] which he published, an exposition to the effect that the Church of England of all the Protestant Churches was most nearly like the Church of Rome. These activities on the part of the Bishop of Durham and his legal adviser are thought to have influenced the Rev. Peter Gandolphy, a Roman Catholic priest of the Spanish Chapel of London, to publish a " Liturgy," or a Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments for the Use of all the Christians of Great Britain.[2] This Liturgy followed the Book of Common Prayer. The first edition appeared in 1812, the second in 1815. He also published, in 1815, *A Defence of the Ancient Faith* in four volumes. This latter work, together with the Liturgy, was denounced by a Papal decree on July 27, 1888, and they were placed on the Index.[3]

The Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1801 entered into a Concordate with the Pope at the latter's request, the hope being to kill Gallicanism by appointing for France an entirely new set of Bishops wholly loyal to the Roman See. The Pope called upon the eighty-one Bishops still living to resign. Sixty-eight of these obeyed. Napoleon was not pleased with the Pope's high-handed action, so he retaliated by publishing the Concordat in an amended form with certain Gallican and Erastian clauses to which the Pope had never given his consent. A diplomatic struggle of ten years followed, which, on the fall of the Emperor, ended in a victory for the Pope. Gallicanism was thereby suppressed until its reappearance in the latter part of the nineteenth century in connection with the support of Duchesne, Battifol, and others to secure, at the request of the Anglo-Catholic, Lord Halifax and certain fellow-Churchmen, a favourable recognition of the Anglican Orders. The thirteen Bishops who refused to resign at the Pope's request set up a protest and, for a century following, there remained in some parts of France a detached remnant something like the Non-juring Church in England.

On May 13th, 1824, the Most Rev. J. K. Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Ireland, addressed a letter[4] to Mr. Robinson, afterwards Lord Ripon, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and later Prime Minister, who had, the Bishop mistakenly[5] thought, just delivered an address in the House of Commons in favour of the union of the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Ireland. In the Bishop's letter, he pleaded for Catholic emancipation and for a union of the Roman Catholic Church and the Established Church. He later

[1] Essay IV, " On the Re-union of Christians," in *An Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies*, London, Longmans, 1816, p. 194.

[2] J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement*, Longmans Green & Co., 1914, p. 414 *ff.*

[3] Idem, p. 416.

[4] H. N. Oxenham, *An Eirenicon*, etc., Oxford, 1879. Appendix A, pp. 317–325, where this letter is given in full.

[5] According to Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, N.S., Vol. XI, p. 568, the address was delivered by a Mr. Robertson, not by Mr. Robinson.

proposed that a committee of ten of his faith and ten Anglicans should be chosen to take the matter in hand. From amongst the Anglicans he suggested that Bishops Jebb and Ryder, of Limerick and Lichfield respectively, be included in the committee. Both of these Bishops were noted for their broad spirit and their ability as ecclesiastical statesmen. A mixed deputation of Catholics and Protestants, who took Bishop Doyle seriously, waited upon him. When thus confronted by a request to be specific as to his suggestions, he declared himself " too good a Papist " to compromise any point of faith. He held, however, that there would be no difficulty in reconciling the Tridentine doctrinal decisions with the Anglican Articles.[1]

The next important event bearing upon re-union with Rome took place in England, February 27th, 1841, when the Rev. J. H. Newman, of Oxford University, published as Tract XC his *Remarks on certain Passages of the Thirty-nine Articles*.[2] This Tract was one of a series of tracts, published at the time by Dr. Newman, J. H. Keble, R. H. Froude, Dr. E. B. Pusey, and others, this having been the first one to hint boldly at re-union with Rome. Newman found a way of showing that the Thirty-nine Articles really contained nothing definitely opposed to the Council of Trent, since that Council took place. Great opposition to Newman and his Tract developed at once, beginning with the Anglican Bishop Bagot of Oxford. The final outcome was Newman's entrance into the Roman fold, October 9th, 1845. Previous to this action of Newman, also accompanying him, and in the years following, scores of Anglican clergy did likewise. In the same year as the publication of Newman's famous Tract, Mr. W. G. Ward, in a letter to *The Universe*, expressed an ardent desire that the Anglican Church should be united with Rome.[3] This was answered by a very prominent Roman Catholic layman, Ambrose Phillips De Lisle, in 1857, by his publication of his *On the Future Unity of Christendom*. On September 8th, 1857, the Association for the Promotion of Christendom was formed by members of the Roman, Eastern Orthodox, and Anglican Churches.[4] While this Association included Mr. De Lisle and other Roman Catholics in its membership, it can never be said to have had the official sanction of Rome, or of either of the other two Churches represented by communicants acting as individuals.

With the loss of Dr. Newman, R. H. Froude having died, and Keble having removed from Oxford to become the Vicar of a small parish church, the continuation of the Oxford, which now became the Tractarian, Movement, rested mainly with Dr. Edward Bouverie

[1] H. N. Oxenham, *op. cit.*, p. 43 *ff.* In a footnote, Oxenham writes that this has been allowed by Sancta Clara, (the Franciscan name of Christopher Davenport, author of *Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanæ* "), Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Pusey, and others, including Bishop Forbes.

[2] To this Tract the Rev. E. B. Pusey wrote the Historical Preface. See Rev. J. Keble, *Catholic Subscription to the XXXIX Articles considered in Reference to Tract XC*. London, 1866.

[3] In 1841, in friendly response to Tract XC, Bishop, afterwards Cardinal, Wiseman wrote to Lord Shrewsbury. (See H. N. Oxenham, *Letter to F. Lockhart*, p. 105 *ff.*).

[4] See pp. 213–216.

Pusey (1800–1882). Dr. Pusey, having graduated at Oxford, B.A., in 1822, and M.A. in 1825, studied in Germany from 1825–1827. Previous to, and following, that study, he sought to stem the introduction of German rationalism into England by the revival of the faith and polity of the early Church within the Church of England.[1] His first appeal took the form of a letter to Keble, which he called *The Church of England a Portion of Christ's one holy Catholic Church, and a Means of restoring visible Unity. An Eirenicon* (1865). He argued that English Churchmen were prevented from union with Rome not so much by the authorized teaching of the Roman Church as by the unauthorized (although permitted) practical systems of devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the teachings about indulgences and purgatory. He asked the Roman Church to disclaim extreme statements relative to the foregoing, and to provide a basis of re-union by constructing an explanation of the Council of Trent. At the same time he published Newman's Tract XC with an historical preface, thus sanctioning Newman's exposition of the true meaning of the Articles. Several Roman Catholic writers, including many French bishops, amongst whom was Monsignor Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, responded very favourably to Pusey's proposal. In 1866 Newman answered this first Eirenicon in a way that Pusey could not accept.

In this same year Dr. Pusey wrote a second Eirenicon, which was not published until 1869, that is, just before the Vatican Council. In this he dealt with the question of the Immaculate Conception. Then, on November 1st, 1869, he published a third Eirenicon under the title *Is Healthful Re-union Impossible? A second letter to the Very Rev. J. H. Newman.* In this he discussed certain difficulties in the way of re-union, especially emphasizing the question of purgatory, of the deuterocanonical books, and of the exact meaning of Roman supremacy. He quoted Bossuet at length, hoping to get a favourable hearing thereby. He asked for a statement of clear terms of re-union which could be accepted without complicity in the many and unjustifiable practices which were not officially allowed, and yet were not forbidden in the Roman Church. He sent his third Eirenicon to many of the Roman Catholic bishops who had already left their homes to attend the Vatican Council. Most of them came back undelivered. Since ultramontanism triumphed at this Council, all Pusey's hopes were blasted. A copy of this same book found in his study after his death had the title changed to *Healthful Re-union as Considered Possible before the Vatican Council.*

On November 9th, 1846, Pope Pius IX., at the beginning of his pontificate, issued an encyclical to the Eastern Orthodox Churches and to all Christians wheresoever they might be, inviting them to come into the Roman fold. To this invitation the Orientals sent an emphatic and reasoned refusal. In 1853, Pius sanctioned the establishment at Rome of a society for the re-union of Christendom, with the Greek and Græco-Russian Churches especially in mind. At the urgent request of Father Tondini, a great friend of Ambrose Philipps De Lisle, the scheme of 1853 was enlarged in 1857 to include other

[1] *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Edward Bouverie Pusey.

bodies, particularly the Anglicans and others of the British Empire.

In 1854 a very remarkable Conference was held at Berlin, consisting of " members of the two separated Churches, the Greek and the Latin, and of the Protestant bodies." The history of this Conference is recorded by the learned Greek, Pitzipios, and was published by the Pontifical Press with the permission of Pope Pius IX. The author states that at this Conference " they came to the unanimous conviction that the re-union of Christendom was feasible." He concludes that " the hour has come for the restoration of unity in the Church of Christ, and that its accomplishment is to be the special work of our own times."[1]

Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, who laboured incessantly throughout his active career, and for whose speedy recovery during his last illness dissenting Christians prayed, declared in 1861, " *Non ille nobis cedet, sed nos una cum illo cedemus Deo.*" (He, the Bishop of Rome, will not yield to us, but we, together with him, will yield to God.)[2]

Pope Pius IX., with the hope of winning straying Christians back to the fold, established the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in 1862. Other Churches have ever looked upon the work of this Congregation as that of shameless proselytizing. This Congregation was divided by Pope Benedict XV. on May 1st, 1917, with the result that the Congregation for the Eastern Church was created with the view of winning those Churches back to the Western Church. This Congregation is very active to-day.

In 1863, in connection with the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, *The Union Review* magazine was founded, with Dr. F. G. Lee as its first editor. This publication's announced policy was the furtherance of union amongst the Catholic Churches and the promotion of interest in ecumenical Christianity. The Holy See having denounced it and everything for which it stood in 1865, it was unable to continue publication longer than 1872. Mr. De Lisle was very closely associated with Dr. Lee in the founding and publication of this journal. But the Pope's anathemas were sufficient to cause this layman to sever his connections with the *Review*, and to cease from all further public activity on behalf of other Churches uniting with Rome. *The Union Review* rendered a great service during its hectic career by means of its editorials, book reviews, and contributed articles, in which we find a fairly dependable record of Catholic Christian union movements up to that time.

The Union Newspaper was first published in 1857 by Mr. G. William Bell Painter in the " interests of Anglo-Catholicism and Union with Rome," Mr. George Josiah Palmer being the publisher. In *The Union Review* for 1868[3] we read the following in the editorials : " *The Union Newspaper* was, we believe, the first periodical that dared to even hint at the consideration of the question of re-union with Rome and the East. Certainly no one, twenty years ago, would have

[1] *Life and Times of Bishop Doyle*, Vol. i, pp. 325–326.
[2] H. N. Oxenham, *An Eirenicon*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 46 *ff.*
[3] See p. 210 *ff.* of that periodical.

ventured to predict the change that has come over the mind of a large body of Churchmen, clerical and lay, within the last ten years." The Oxford and Tractarian Movements, which had their inception in 1833, were chiefly accountable for the change here mentioned.

In 1865 two hundred Anglicans presented a respectful petition to the Pope relative to re-union. Cardinal Patrizi delivered the reply on November 8th of that same year. This was characterized as "a snappish charl, studiously insulting," and was said to have been inspired by English converts to Rome, including Cardinal Manning and others. One of the immediate results was the withdrawal from membership in the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom of all the Roman members, including De Lisle.

The Rev. George Nugee is authority for the statement[1] that, as he discussed the question of a General Council with Cardinal Wiseman just before his death, the Cardinal referred him to his "letter to Lord Shrewsbury" as the expression of his sentiments, and then stated that he (Cardinal Wiseman), had urged upon Pope Pius IX. the policy of calling a General Council. Pointing to the assembled Bishops at Rome at the time of the promulgation of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, Cardinal Wiseman was reported to have said, "Holy Father, could you not trust such men in a General Council?" "What men these are!" exclaimed the Pope. "Men from the farthest East who astonish us with their deep learning and sanctity. But I fear it cannot be yet. How would your English Bishops take part in it? As Consulates? No. They must sit as Bishops or not at all, and that cannot be yet." Nugee further reports Cardinal Wiseman as saying that since that interview he had often regretted that the *Eirenicon* by Dr. Pusey had not been published at that time. No sooner had Nugee published the foregoing than Canon Searle, the private and confidential secretary to Cardinal Wiseman, and, after his death, one of his executors, denied the rumour that Cardinal Wiseman was a member of the A.P.U.C. He quoted him as saying, "They may join us in our prayers; but we must not join them in theirs." He further stated that the Holy Father meant that the English Bishops must appear at a General Council as regular Roman Catholic Bishops, if they are to appear at all. He denied that the Cardinal would ever have taken interest or pleasure in Pusey's *Eirenicon*.

It was during these years that several volumes for the encouragement of union amongst the Catholics, Eastern, Western, and Anglican, appeared. In 1867 Mr. G. F. Cobb published *The Kiss of Peace, or England and Rome at One on the Doctrine of the Eucharist.* The Rev. Frederick George Lee, founder, with Ambrose De Lisle, of the A.P.U.C., and its first President, also founder and first President of the Order of Corporate Union, also the first editor of *The Union Review*, published many pamphlets and books, the chief of which were three different volumes of Essays or Sermons written by various

[1] Essay IV in *Essays on the Re-union of Christendom*, edited by the Rev. George Lee. Preface by Dr. E. B. Pusey. By Members of the Roman Catholic, Oriental, and Anglican Communions. 1867. p. 485 *ff.*

authors from the Roman, Oriental, and Anglican Communions, all dealing with the problems and prospects of Catholic re-union.[1]

Pope Pius IX. convoked the Vatican Council which met on December 8th, 1869, by a Pontifical Bull published June 29th, 1868. On September 8th of this latter year he addressed an Apostolic letter to the Oriental Bishops, which in part read as follows: "With all the power of our soul we pray, we admonish, we conjure you to come to the General Council as your predecessors came to the Second Council of Lyons, held by our blessed Gregory, our predecessor of venerated memory, and to the Council of Florence, celebrated by our predecessor of happy memory, Eugenius IV., that thus renewing the bonds of ancient affection, and recalling to life that ancient peace, the heavenly and blessed gift of Christ, which in the course of ages has become lost to us, we may make the serene brightness of longed-for union, shine resplendent before all, after being long and sadly clouded, and after the painful darkness of long-lived dissension." On September 13th of that same year he addressed a letter "to all Protestants and other Non-Catholics,"[2] in which he said, "We address this letter to all Christians separated from us—a letter in which we exhort and supplicate them to hasten to return to the fold of Christ . . . all those who, while recognizing that same Jesus Christ as our Saviour, and rejoicing in the name of Christians, yet still do not profess the veritable faith of Christ, or follow the communion of the Catholic Church." In the letter to the Oriental Bishops, cited above, we find the significant words which indicate a clear recognition of actual Christians outside the Roman Church, and the validity of their baptism. He said, "We cannot, without grave danger to our soul, neglect any portion of the Christian people which, as having been redeemed by the precious blood of our Saviour, and added to the Lord's flock by the sacred waters of Baptism, rightfully claims our watchfulness" . . . who now "exist to our great grief in a state of separation and division from the communion of the Holy Roman Church which is spread over the whole world."

Gregory VI., then the Patriarch of Constantinople, knowing the contents of the Papal letter from the current newspapers, refused to receive the letter, tied with a gold cord and in a red Morocco cover, from the three Papal representatives sent to deliver the same.[3] With firmness and dignity he addressed these legates. He spoke of Pius IX.'s former attempt in 1848, of the Patriarchal Encyclical Letter in answer at that time, and of the Pope's evident dislike of that reply, as evidenced by his rejoinder. Let each recur to the Church of ten centuries back, and see who had added to or subtracted from that

[1] F. G. Lee, editor, *Sermons on the Re-union of Christendom*, First Series. London, 1864. By Members of the Roman Catholic, Oriental, and Anglican Communions. Dedicated to Pope Pius IX., Sophronius, Ecumenical Patriarch of New Rome, and Charles Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Sermons on the Re-union of Christendom, Second Series. Authorship and Dedication same as Series I.

Essays on the Re-union of Christendom, op. cit. Dedicated to Francis Joseph I., Emperor of Austria, Alexander Nicholavitch, Czar of Russia, and Albert Edward, Prince of Wales. London, 1867.

[2] *The Union Review*, vol. for 1868, p. 457 *ff.* and 561 *ff.*

[3] *Occasional Papers of the Eastern Church Association*, No. I.

Church. He declared that they could never admit: (1) that there is any Bishop who is the supreme ruler or head, except the Lord Christ; (2) that there is any Patriarch infallible or unerring when speaking *ex cathedra*, and who is above Ecumenical Councils, in which there is infallibility when they are in accord with the Scriptures and the Apostolic tradition; (3) that the Apostles were unequal in disregard of the Holy Ghost who inspired them all equally; (4) or that this or that Patriarch or Pope has a pre-eminence of his See, not by synodical and human arrangement, but by divine right. Gregory VI. went on to state that the Council of Florence was invalid, since it was held under duress, the forced union resulting therefrom. There were only seven Ecumenical Councils which were convened properly. The Pope should address individual letters to the Patriarchs and Synods of the East as a brother to brethren. The Metropolitan of Chalcedon sent the Pope's letter back marked "Epistrephete," that is, "Let it be rejected." The most Venerable Patriarch-elect of Alexandria, Nilus, also rejected the invitation, as did the other Bishops and Primates of the East, including the Armenian.[1] None of the Protestant Churches took any notice of the Pope's invitation. The Vatican Council met in accordance with the Bull, convening it on December 9th, 1869.

In view of the fact that Pius IX., inspired and supported by the Jesuits and Ultramontanists,[2] was calling this Council for the express purpose of promulgating the dogma of Papal Infallibility, and had made every preparation that these plans should not slip,[3] it was providential that the Eastern as well as the Protestant Churches rejected the invitation to be present. There was a total of 767 Bishops at the Council, of whom from five to six hundred were under the thumb of the Pope. At a preliminary meeting none but the infallibilists were allowed admission. Throughout the Council the anti-infallibilists were shamefully treated. Some died, and all were in danger of arrest at the hands of the Papal police. When, on July 13th, 1870, the Pope's scheme was passed, there were eighty-eight nonplacets, and sixty-one conditional placets, with ninety-one Bishops, still in Rome, absenting themselves from the Council. On Sunday, June 17th, a deputation waited on the Pope and begged him to withdraw the dangerous dogma. He became alarmed, and promised to reconsider the matter. But the next morning, the very day of the actual promulgation, Archbishop Manning of England and the Bishop of Ratisbon, reassured Pius, and the die was irrevocably cast. In the midst of a terrific lightning and thunder storm, in a solemn assembly, the Dogma was declared.[4] As the Pope arose to

[1] *Occasional Papers of the Eastern Church Association*, No. 1.

[2] "Ultra-montanist," a term applied to all those who favoured giving extreme power to the Roman Bishop, that is, to the Church, "ultra," or beyond, the Alps mountains.

[3] K. D. Mackenzie *The Confusion of the Churches*, London, Philip Alan & Company, 1925, p. 157 *ff*. See also *The Union Review*, vol. for 1870, p. 472 *ff*.

[4] The Vatican Council has defined as "a divinely revealed dogma," that "the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in the exercise of his office as pastor and teacher of all Christians, he defines, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the whole Church—

speak, following the vote,[1] lightning struck a house on the Via Condotti. By some the fury of the elements has been interpreted as being similar to the occasion on Mt. Sinai, when Moses received the Decalogue. By others the lightning and the thunder were considered signs of the displeasure of God. Whatever may be the interpretation, it is a certain fact that from that moment the Roman Church, which began to become a separate sect at the Council of Trent, lost all claim to catholicity. It definitely, under the guidance of the Jesuits and the Ultramontanists, legislated itself into a purely Roman sect, with all the gates, leading to paths of union with the remainder of Christendom, locked and barred. By making provision for the authentication of anything dubious, the postulation of anything necessary for the completion of the arch with the Papacy as the keystone, the complete closure of a self-contained, self-sufficient system—all this through the medium of Papal Infallibility, the whole Roman Church has cut loose from the helps and graces which come from deference to thought, life, and powers without its own life, and is now on its career of sublime self-sufficiency and consummate egotism, coupled with iniquitous haughtiness and suicidal pride.

The opposition to the Dogma was very considerable. One hundred and fifteen delegates signed a protest, although many of them had already left Rome. In process of time, many of these were brought into line, either to promote actively the dogma, or else not to oppose it. Hefele, the great German historian, was the last of the German Bishops who had protested, to give in. His quinquennial faculties had expired, and submission was the price for the renewal of the same. But Dr. J. J. I. von Döllinger, Professor of theology in the University of Munich, opposed the whole procedure from first to last, insisting that it was contrary to the very genius of the Church. He counselled against schism. He was excommunicated in April, 1871, separation from the Roman Church thus being forced upon him. In the end, with

is by reason of the Divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer wished his Church to be endowed in defining doctrines of faith and morals; and consequently that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of their own nature (*ex sese*) and not by reason of the Church's consent." (Art., "Infallibility," in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*.) The last clause beginning "and consequently" was added the last day at the suggestion of some Spanish Bishops. (*Union Review*, vol. for 1870, p. 473). According to P. J. Toner in his article on "Infallibility," *op. cit.*, infallibility should not be confused with inspiration or revelation, nor does it mean impeccability on the part of the Pope. It means that when every condition stated in the dogma has been fulfilled, the Pope is exempted from error or the possibility of error when he *defines* a doctrine, pertaining to faith or morals, that has already been revealed. In this act, it is held that God gives him infallibility, and his pronouncement is not subject to change on the part of the Church or any official or Council of the same. The dogma is really the keystone in the arch of the Papal monarchy, and is the logical outcome of the policy of a sacerdotal Church that is infallible and that is based on Peter and his successors. Being thus crowned with absolution, nothing has been omitted that is necessary to maintain visible unity, irrespective of the cost involved.

[1] In the final vote, with the Pope present, and with many Bishops and Cardinals absent from the Council and from Rome, there were 2 nonplacets. These were cast by Bishop Riccio of Capazzo and Bishop Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Arkansas. It was remarked that the Little Rock attempted to break the Great Rock of the Church.

mass meetings, in protest against the treatment of von Döllinger and against the new dogma, held in Munich (1871), and Cologne (1872), a group of about thirty priests seceded from the Church of Rome and formed the Old Catholic Church. Dr. Reinkens was elected the first Bishop of this new Communion. The Roman Church's effort to perfect its system for the preservation of a rigid, non-comprehensive, and unbending unity resulted in forcing some of its best minds into schism.

THE ORDER OF CORPORATE RE-UNION

In the year 1871, the Rev. Frederick G. Lee, whose many re-union activities we have already noted in part, together with others of the Anglican faith, became very seriously dissatisfied with certain turns in the affairs of their Communion. The evils which they deplored were: (1) Extreme confusion in organization and discipline; (2) grave diversity of doctrinal teaching; (3) lapse of spiritual jurisdiction; (4) loss of spiritual freedom of the Church; (5) uncertainty of sacramental status, arising from the long-continued prevalence of shameful neglect and carelessness in the administration of baptism, contrary to the Book of Prayer; and (6) want of unquestioned Episcopal Succession.[1] In proof that Erastianism was creeping into the Established Church of England, they called attention to the abolition of Church rates, allowing of the Conscience Clause, the Divorce Bill becoming a law, the passing of the Elementary Education Act, the abolition of the Canterbury Court of Arches, the Chancery Court of York, and all episcopal and archdiaconal courts of every diocese. Their explanation as to why they questioned the Episcopal Succession consisted in quoting from the *Life of Robert Gray*, Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of Africa, by his son, Charles Gray,[2] where it is stated that the Archbishop Sumner laid on his hands "in a very slovenly manner," in the consecration of the Bishops of Canterbury, Sydney, and Capetown.[3] "This," they said, "has rendered it more than probable" that these three consecrations are, from the Catholic point of view, "simply null and void."

In preparation for the formation of the Order of Corporate Re-union, Dr. Lee had himself consecrated a Bishop, secretly, by some Roman Catholic prelates at or near Venice, in the summer of 1877. The names of these prelates were ever kept secret from the members of the Order. Lee took the title of the Bishop of Dorchester. He then returned to London. In the little chapel at All Saints' Vicarage in Lambeth, he consecrated two other Anglicans as Bishops—the Rev. T. W. Mossman, rector of East and West Torrington, Lincolnshire, as "Bishop of Selby," and Dr. J. T. Seccombe, an Anglican layman, as "Bishop of Caerleon." In this same chapel Lee and these two Bishops re-ordained a few other of the clergy who had doubts as with

[1] F. G. Lee, art. in *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 10, Nov., 1881, p. 744 *ff.*

[2] F. G. Lee, *op. cit.* Also Biography of Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[3] *Life of Robert Gray*, Vol. I, p. 443, London, 1876. But Bishop Gray was satisfied, there being three Bishops who laid on their hands.

regard to their Orders, and confirmed certain of the laity who had similar scruples. They had a Notary Public to certify as to what was done. All who could not show conclusive proof of valid baptism were baptised *sub conditione*. Finally, on September 8th, 1877, the Order was promulgated from the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral " by competent authority in the face of credible witnesses."[1] Printed statements as to what they had done were then despatched to all the English Bishops, deans, and proctors in Convocation, to " the Holy Fathers, and to many distinguished Catholic prelates and theologians in various countries." In Lee's account of these events,[2] he says that, except for a single sentence claiming an appeal to a General Council (inadmissible from a Roman Catholic standpoint), " its tone and terms secured a wide and almost universal commendation."

In the Pastoral of this Order we read : " In the name of God the Trinity, and under the patronage and protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Augustine of Canterbury, we have formally associated ourselves together in the Order of Corporate Re-union. In thus associating ourselves together, we solemnly take as the basis of this our Order, the Catholic faith as defined by the seven general councils—as commonly received in the Apostles' Creed, the Creed of Nicæa, and the Creed of St. Athanasius. Furthermore, until the whole Church shall speak on the subject, we accept all those dogmatic statements set forth in the Council of Trent and the Synod of Bethlehem respectively, with regard to the doctrine of sacraments."[3]

The Bishop of London, in his " Charge delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral " in 1879, made a " temperately worded attack " on the Order of Corporate Re-union. The Society of the Holy Cross brought charges against it, stating that it was guilty of Catholic disobedience, and that it was schismatical. To spread the tenets of the Order, Lee founded *The Union Magazine*, which continued from 1877 to 1879. All who had any connection with the Order were bound to secrecy. About six or seven years before his death Lee destroyed every document relating to it. He finally joined his wife in membership in the Church of Rome, in which Communion he died.

About the year 1880 a small group of Roman Catholics in Spain withdrew from that Church and set about to organize a national episcopal Church. One of their number, Cabrera, sought and obtained consecration from the Archbishop of Dublin and two other Irish Bishops.[4] A remnant of these independent Catholics is to be found in Spain to-day.

[1] F. G. Lee, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, Nov., 1881, p. 744 *ff.*

[2] *Idem.*

[3] *Idem.* Lee quotes directly from the Pastoral sent out to the English Bishops and others, pp. 12–13.

[4] W. C. Plunkett, Archbishop of the United dioceses of Dublin, Glendalough, and Kildare, together with the bishops of Clogher and Down, on September 23rd, 1894, consecrated Senor Cabrera as Bishop of the Reformed Church of Spain at Madrid. See Biography of W. C. Plunkett in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The request of the Spanish for such ordination was declined by the Lambeth Conference of 1878. (*Chronicle of Convocation*, 1883, p. 222.) The taking of such action was further discouraged by the Lambeth Conference of 1888. (See Report

Certain learned Gallicans, expecially Loisy, Abbé Duchesne, and Abbé Portal, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, began to publish the results of their investigations of the validity of the Anglican Orders, in response partly to the suggestion of certain Anglo-Catholic leaders, including Lord Halifax, especially, who had suggested that an unprejudiced examination of all the facts would result in a favourable verdict. Abbé Portal held that Archbishop Parker's consecration was satisfactory, and that the form of the rite was sufficient. But because of his " Porrectio Instrumentorum," that is, the giving of the chalice and paten to the ordained priest, was omitted, the ordinations were null.[1] Abbé Duchesne took a different view from that of Portal, and concluded that the Anglican Orders might be recognized as valid.[2]

For the purpose of furthering the fraternal spirit generated by this correspondence as between the Gallicans and the Anglo-Catholics, the weekly, *La Revue Romaine*, was published from November, 1895. It was brought to an end exactly one year later, the Papal Bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ*, which condemned the Anglican Orders, being sufficient to put a stop to any such fraternal efforts.

On June 21st, 1894, Pope Leo XIII. issued his Encyclical, *Præclara gratulationis*, on the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his episcopate.[3] " We turn to the nations," said he, " and with the love of a father we urge and conjure them to desire to return to unity." He appealed especially to the Churches of the East. They would be permitted to retain their own liturgies and laws, only they were to accept the magisterium of the Roman Catholic Church. He made special reference to the Newman and Oxford Movement, saying that Newman had found in the Roman Church alone " the essence of the Church willed and preserved by Jesus Christ." Batiffol declared that Benedict XIV., Leo XIII., and Benedict XV. sought to cause the Western Church to react in favour of the Eastern Churches in order to remove from the latter their fear of Latinization.

In the same Encyclical Pope Leo appealed to the Protestants by saying, " Suffer us to stretch out a hand to you to that unity which has never been wanting in the Catholic Church, and which can never fail. The Church, mother of us all, has for long been calling you to return to her, and with brotherly love all Catholics are waiting for you, that you may serve God with us, in the unity of the same Gospel, the same faith, the same hope, united by the bonds of a perfect love."

of the Conference, Res. 15 (D), (C). (See also Chron. of Convoc., 1883, April 11th, 13th ; 1888, July 6th ; 1892, Feb. 16th, 17th ; Chron. of Convoc., N.S., Vol. 11, 1894, July 6th ; *Idem*, Vol. XII, Feb. 7th, 8th, 1895). In the foregoing we find a very pronounced opposition to the Archbishop's action both before and after the consecration of Cabrera, in the Upper and Lower Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury. But in the *Church of Ireland, Journal of the General Synod of* 1892, for Thursday, April 28th, p. lxiii, a resolution is recorded expressing gratitude that " the collective Episcopate of the Church of Ireland " has made no protest against His Grace's action.

[1] *Les Ordinations Anglicanes*, par Fernand Dalbus (Abbé Portal), Arras. Sueur-Charruey. 1894.

[2] *Bulletin Critique*, V, No. 14, 15 juillet, 1894. Paris. Thorin et Fils. p. 262.

[3] Mgr. Pierre Batiffol, art., " Pope Leo XIII. on Unity," *Constructive Quarterly* Vol. VII, No. 28, Dec., 1919.

The Eastern Orthodox Churches replied to the Pope in a very forceful letter of twenty-five paragraphs, the substance of which was as follows :[1] The Roman Church has been sowing tares. The Eastern Churches have ever been ready to receive proposals for union on the basis of " Holy Seven Ecumenical Councils." They condemned the Roman use of *filioque*, their sprinkling instead of trine immersion, their use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and their practice of withholding the chalice from the laity. They objected to purgatorial fire, the immaculate conception, the temporal power of the Pope, the infallibility and absolute authority of the Roman papacy. They pointed out that trine immersion was the practice of the Western Church up to the thirteenth century, and that leavened bread was used in the Eucharist for the first one thousand years. They upheld the sanctifying of the Sacred Elements after the prayer of invocation of the Holy Ghost by the blessing of the priest as the ancient rituals of Rome and the Gauls bear witness. The Roman Catholics say that the sanctification takes place with the words, " Take, eat, this is my body," and " Drink ye all of it." The Eastern Churches invoke the mercy of God for the pardon and repose of those that are asleep in the Lord. They condemned the Papal Church's invention, since the twelfth century, of purgatorial fire and the superabundance of merits. The Eastern Church has the dogma " that the supernatural incarnation of the only-begotten Son and Word of God of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary " is alone pure and immaculate.

They asserted that " every Bishop is the head and president of his own particular Church, subject only to synodical decrees and to the decisions of the Church at large, which alone is infallible. The Bishop of Constantinople, when that city was the capital, was assigned the same primacy as the Bishop of Rome. An Ecumenical Council was, and still is, the highest tribunal in the Church as a whole. During the nine centuries of those Councils the Eastern Orthodox Church never acknowledged the arrogant pretensions to supremacy put forward by the Bishop of Rome. Continuing, they said that " The early seeds of those absolutist pretensions of the Papacy were sown in the Pseudo-Clementines, but they were matured exactly at the time of Nicholas, in the so-called Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which are a mass of spurious and counterfeit royal ordinances and letters of ancient Bishops of Rome, whereby, contrary to all historic truth and to the established government of the Church, it was purposely put forth that primitive Christianity accorded to the Bishops of Rome unbounded authority over the Church at large."

Furthermore, they stated that " The Orthodox Eastern and Catholic Church of Christ knows of no one infallible but the ineffably incarnated Son and Word of God. Peter thrice denied the Lord, and was thrice censured by the Apostle Paul for not standing uprightly (Gal. ii, 11). Pope Liberius in the fourth century subscribed to an Arian Confession. Zosimus in the fifth century approved an heretical confession denying

[1] Eastern Orthodox Churches' Reply of August, 1895, to the Appostolical Letter of Leo XIII., June 20th, 1894, *Occasional Papers of the Eastern Church Association*.

original sin ; Virgilius in the sixth century was condemned by the Fifth Council for disbelief. Honorius in the seventh century, having espoused the heresy of the Monothelites, was condemned by the Sixth Ecumenical Council as a heretic, and the Popes, his successors, acknowledged and admitted his condemnation."[1]

The Eastern Churches considered themselves " the pillar and the ground of truth," while the Roman Church is a Church of innovations, of falsifications of the writings of the Fathers, of the Scriptures, and of Councils. Hence re-union is rendered impossible. They severely criticized the Popes for having made special appeals to the Slavonic Churches. They issued a special appeal to all the Churches of the West in the language of Vincentius of Lerins' *Commonitorium pro Catholicæ fidei antiquitate et Universitate* : " *In ipsa item catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est enim vere proprieque Catholicum (quod ipse vis nominis ratioque declaret), quod omnia fere universaliter comprehendit. Sed hoc fiet si sequimur universalitatem, antiquitatem, consensionem.*"[2]

Their final exhortation was couched in the words of the Apostle Paul to the elders of the Church at Ephesus, as reported in Acts xx, 28.

On April 14th, 1895, Leo XIII. issued his Apostolical Letter, *Ad Anglos*. He declared that " the love and care of the Roman Pontiff for England has been traditional from the days of our holy predecessor Gregory the Great." The latter desired to convert the Anglo-Saxons while he was still a monk, nor did he rest until it was accomplished. He sent words of greatest rejoicing to St. Augustine when he heard of the latter's success. " With loving heart, then, we turn to you all in England to whatever community or institution you may belong, desiring to recall you to this holy unity. . . . Ah, no doubt the many changes that have come about, and time itself, have caused the existing divisions to take deeper root. But is that a reason to give up all hope of remedy, reconciliation, and peace ? By no means, if God is with us." He called upon St. Gregory, St. Augustine, St. Peter, St. George, and Mary the Mother of God to pray for England, " Mary's Dowry." He appended a prayer to the end of the latter, and promised an indulgence of three hundred days to all those, of whatever nation, that would recite it, and a plenary indulgence once a month on the observance of the usual conditions to those who had recited it daily. He quoted John xvii, 11, 17, 20, 21 and 23. " The Prayer for England " was as follows :

" O Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God and our most gentle Queen and Mother, look down in mercy upon England thy ' Dowry ' and upon

[1] *Cf.* the foregoing with general summary of Papal defects and heresies, with instances of vacancies in the Roman See, as recorded in *Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius IX.*, Nov. 9th, 1846—*with Notes*. Printed for the British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation, London, 1847.

[2] Cap. iii, *cf.* Cap. vii and xi. The English translation is : " In the Catholic Church we must principally be careful to hold that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all. For it is truly and properly Catholic (as the very force and signification of the word indicates), which embraces almost everything comprehensively. And this will be so if we follow universality, antiquity, consent."

us all who greatly hope and trust in thee. By thee it was that Jesus our Saviour and our hope was given unto the world ; and he has given thee to us that we might hope still more. Plead for us thy children, whom thou didst receive and accept at the foot of the Cross. O sorrowful Mother ! intercede for our separated brethren that with us in the one true fold they may be united to the Supreme Shepherd, the Vicar of thy Son. Pray for us all, dear Mother, that by faith fruitful in good works we may all deserve to see and praise God, together with thee, in our heavenly home. Amen."[1]

As a sequel to the letter *Ad Anglos* the Pope issued another Encyclical Letter, June 29th, 1896, on the Unity of the Church. To it the title " Satis Cognitum " has been given. In this letter he expressed a strong desire for unity, arguing that the Church is a divine society, is always visible, and has Christ at its head. Christ delegated his supreme authority to St. Peter and to his successors. The Roman Pontiffs possess supreme power in the Church, *jure divino*. The Bishops that are separated from Peter and his successors have lost all jursidiction. To this Encyclical Letter the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East made a very careful reply. They indicated that Jesus' words, " Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,"[2] following Peter's confession as recorded in Matt. xvi, 16, " was interpreted during the early ages of the Church, both by tradition and by all the divine and sacred Fathers without exception . . . metaphorically to signify the right confession which Peter had made concerning the Lord." They further pointed out that Paul stated that there was no other foundation than Jesus Christ, and that he said to the Church at Ephesus that they were " built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone."[3] The arguments of the Encyclicals of Leo XIII. were, therefore, without either scriptural or traditional foundation, and his appeal for unity on the basis of Roman supremacy was presumptuous.

When Abbé Duchesne pronounced favourably on behalf of the Anglican Orders in 1894, and as the spirit as between the Gallicans and the Anglo-Catholics waxed friendly, certain of the English Church leaders, including Lord Halifax, who were confident that the Pope would pass favourably on their Orders, petitioned him to consider their claims. Accordingly Leo XIII. appointed a commission of eight divines, four of whom were thought to be favourable to the English claims. They were given free access to all the Vatican documents. After six weeks of sessions, the " acta " of this commission were laid before the committee of cardinals.[4] After two months of discussion and study they voted unanimously in condemnation of the Anglican Orders. Then, after a "novena of prayerful consideration, Leo XIII. pubished his decision in the Bull, *Apostolicæ Curæ*, on September 13th,

[1] Pope Leo XIII., *Apostolical Letter to the English People*. Catholic Truth Society, London.
[2] Matt. xvi, 18.
[3] Eph. ii, 19.
[4] Rev. F. Woodlock, S.J., *Constantinople, Canterbury, and Rome*, Longmans Green & Co., 1923, p. 56 *ff*.

1896." Continuing, Woodlock writes, " Leo XIII. gave his adverse decision because the ritual used between 1559 and 1662 omitted to specify, in the ' form ' of words used in conjunction with the laying on of hands, the nature of the gift conferred on the ordained. The words neither mentioned the office ' priest,' ' bishop,' nor expressed the essential function of either office. The form was thus incomplete for over a hundred years after 1559." In 1662 the omissions were corrected, " but," continues Woodlock, " it came too late. The hundred years without a valid ordination had left the Church of England without a priest or bishop." His argument is that the cable which might have otherwise been able to bear the electric power of God was made to consist of hempen rope for one hundred and three miles from 1559 to 1662, and therefore the current in this day does not pass. All of Father Woodlock's arguments have validity only to those who accept the logic of extreme mechanical sacerdotalism. The Anglican Archbishops formulated replies to the Papal Bull showing that the intention for ordination of the priest as one who offers a sacrifice had always been present at every Anglican ordination, and that the omission of certain words in the ordinal did not imply that the intention did not still remain. In constructing the Bull the Pope confined his condemnation to the same basis as that upon which Pope Clement in 1704 pronounced the consecration of Bishop Gordon of the Scottish Episcopal Church as null, namely, " Defect in form and intention " in the ordinal. General satisfaction was expressed that the validity of the consecration of Archbishop Parker was not questioned.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York issued a very able and convincing response[1] to Pope Leo's *Apolosticæ Curæ*. Amongst other things, they said : " There are . . . four reasons for considering this case as a weak and unstable foundation for his judgment. In the first place, inasmuch as Gordon himself petitioned to be ordained according to the Roman rite, the case was not heard on the other side. Secondly, his petition had as its basis the old ' Tavern fable,' and was vitiated by falsehoods concerning our rite. Thirdly, the new documents of ' incontestable authenticity ' cited by the Pope are still involved in secrecy, and he argues about them as if he were himself uncertain as to their tenor and meaning. Fourthly, the decree of the Congregation of the holy office, if it be considered to agree with Pope Leo's judgment, can scarcely be reconciled with the reply of the consulters of the holy office on Abysinian ordination said to have been given about a week before, and often published as authoritative by Roman theologians up to 1893. Therefore, all these documents ought to be made public if the matter is to be put on a fair footing for judgment." . . . " The liberty of the national Churches to reform their own rites may not be removed at the pleasure of Rome. . . There

[1] Dr. F. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. W. D. Maclagan, Archbishop of York, *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apolostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII.* On English Ordinations. Addressed to the whole body of Bishops of the Catholic Church. Longmans, London, 1897. The original of this response was written in Latin by the Bishop of Salisbury. See Arts. V–VII, XVI, and XIX.

is certainly no one 'catholic rite,' but even the forms approved by the Roman Church vary much from one another. The Pope says nothing, however, of the well-known intention of our Church set forth in the preface to the Ordinal, and nothing of the principle which our fathers always set before themselves, and which explain their acts without any adverse interpretation." The Archbishops asserted the superiority of the English Ordinal over the Roman Pontifical, giving cogent reasons for their conviction. Continuing, they wrote, "We, therefore, taking our stand on Holy Scripture, make reply that in the ordering of Priests we do duly lay down and set forth the stewardship and ministry of the word and Sacraments, the power of remitting and retaining sins, and other functions of the pastoral office, and that in these we do sum up and rehearse all other functions."

Dr. Charles A. Briggs[1] contended for the validity of the Anglican Orders according to Christian teaching. He showed that all the Gospels agree as to the Communion service.[2] The words, "do this in remembrance of me," are found only in the writings of Paul.[3] Therefore, concludes Dr. Briggs, the Papal claim as to presbyters having a priestly sacrificing function is based only on Paul. Anglo-Catholic scholars, however, would not follow Dr. Briggs' line of reasoning. They insist that the priests of the Church of England do now have the power of sacrifice, and they use their scholarship in proving that the Anglican ordinations are valid to confer this power.

Very naturally this rebuff from Rome caused those Anglicans who seek for the wider Catholic unity to turn their faces toward the Eastern Orthodox Churches. After a period of silence and more or less inactivity, an approach to Rome by means of prayers, publications, and later in the Malines Conversations, was fostered, chiefly with Lord Halifax as the leader and a few others. The turning of the attention of these few of the Anglican Church toward the Eastern Churches was only in part due to the hostile and uncompromising attitude of the Roman See. Elsewhere the progress of the friendly acquaintanceship and approaches as between the Anglican and Oriental Churches have been traced. Those who are generally considered as having contributed most to the favourable introduction of these two groups to each other are the Rev. Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Young, Bishop Charles R. Hall, and Mr. Silas McBee for the American Protestant Episcopal Church, and Dr. John Mason Neale,[4] Rev. George Williams, Rev. R. F. Littledale, and Dr. W. J. Birkbeck,[5] for the Anglican Church.

(2) THE SEPARATE CHURCHES OF THE EAST—RE-UNION EFFORTS

In the year 1175, at Roum-Kale, there was held a Conference between representatives of the Armenian and the Eastern Orthodox

[1] Dr. Charles A. Briggs, *Church Unity—Studies of its Important Problems*, Longmans Green & Co., 1910. p. 110 *ff.*

[2] Matt. xxviii, 16–20; Mark xvi, 14–20; Luke xxiv, 44–53; John xx, 19–23.

[3] I Cor., 11.

[4] Died August 6th, 1866. See p. 216 *ff.*

[5] See p. 217.

Churches,[1] looking toward the union of these Churches. Further parleys were carried on at Tarsus in 1179. These two efforts have ever since been regarded as models, or as bases for any present or future approaches.

From July 1st to October 24th, 1864, and again resumed on November 3rd, 1864, successive instalments of a very learned treatise on "The Union of the Armenians with the Orthodox Eastern Church," by Gregory, Metropolitan of Chios, appeared in the journal called *Byzantis*, published at Constantinople. In these articles Gregory pointed out, using a favourite maxim borrowed from Theophylact, that "It is not every custom that can sever from the Church; but such as leads to difference of doctrine." He divided heresies under three heads: (1) those which deny the true doctrine of the divinity, as Sabellius and Arius; (2) those opposed to right faith in the incarnation, as those of Eutyches, Dioscorus, and Nestorius; (3) those which destroy the idea of the Church, as, for example, Papacy and Protestantism. The Metropolitan concludes that the Armenians have erred as to none of these. He states that the following are the points of difference between the Armenians and the Orthodox: (1) The use of unleavened bread in the divine mysteries; (2) The rejection of water from the Sacred Chalice; (3) The use of sesame in the Holy Chrism; (4) The change of the words in the "Trisagion" from "have mercy on us" to "Who was crucified for us"; (5) The transference of the Feast of the Nativity to the sixth of January. The above-mentioned articles furnished the first official instance, in modern times, of yearnings after unity amongst the Orthodox themselves.

In these articles it was proposed that the two Communions concerned should appoint a mixed commission which should enter into conference, with the validity of the Armenian Orders and baptism conceded at the start. Neither of the two Churches was to impose its customs, discipline, or usages upon the other. They were to seek for the ecumenical customs and traditions that are in manifest agreement with the Apostolic Constitutions, the decrees of the Ecumenical Synods, and the teachings of the Holy Fathers. The proceedings were to be public. The subjects to be discussed were: the two Natures of Christ, Unleavened Bread, the Holy Oil, the Hymn, Trisagion, the Feast of the Nativity of Christ, and the Fasts. The century-long customs of the Armenian Church should be allowed to continue, only those which involved difference in doctrine being questioned. The completed proceedings of the commission were to be adopted by all of the Churches involved, and union was finally to be celebrated by common participation in the Holy Mysteries.

The present-day teachings of the Armenian Church[2] are quite as

[1] See *Occasional Papers of the Eastern Church Association*, 1866, for an important review of a Treatise in which Chapter II is devoted to the review of the various previous efforts on the part of the Armenians and the Orthodox to unite, with special reference to the Conference at Roum-Kale in 1175. See also "The Church and the Age," *Essays on the Principles and Present Position of the Anglican Church*, Second Series. Edited by Archibald Weir, 1872.

[2] See "Instruction in the Christian Faith according to the Orthodox Armenian Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator," by Professor Mser of the Lazareff Institute of Moscow. Translated by the Rev. S. C. Malan, 1869. *Occasional Paper VIII of the Eastern Church Association.*

orthodox as those of the Eastern Orthodox Church itself. The name " Monophysite " is an appellation, carried over from ancient times, that should be no longer used.

(3) NINETEENTH-CENTURY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN AND THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

A full century seems to have intervened from the time of the Non-jurors' Correspondence (1716–1725), before there was a resumption of any sort of exchange of ideas or courtesies between the Anglican and the Eastern Churches. This came in 1829, when the Rev. Drs. Robertson and Hale, from the American Protestant Episcopal Church, went to Greece to assist kindly, and in as unobtrusive a manner as possible, in the education of the young and of the ignorant. Dr. Robertson was soon called to other work. Later, as Bishop of Long Island, he wrote to the Metropolitan of Athens that Dr. Hale's labours of a half century in Greece had been " a living epistle of the American Church to the brethren of the Eastern Church."[1] The Rev. Horatio Southgate in 1840 journeyed to Persia and Turkey to study the state of Mohammedaism and of the Christians in those lands, assuring the Christian bishops and clergy that he was there to help, and not to proselytize. In 1844 he went as a bishop.

In 1841 Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury, founded a Bishopric in Jerusalem. To forestall objections on the part of the Eastern Church, the Archbishop wrote to the Eastern Patriarch that the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem was " in no manner to invade the jurisdiction of you, the Bishops . . . in the Churches of the East, but rather to show you due honour and reverence, and to be ready, on all occasions, and by all means, to cultivate diligently whatever promoted brotherly love, intercession, and unanimity."[2] Then the Archbishop spoke of " our longing desire to renew the ancient love towards the ancient Church of the East, which has been suspended for ages, which, if restored by the will and blessing of God, may have the effect of healing the schisms, which have brought the most grievous calamities on the Church of Christ."[3] But the establishment of this Bishopric at Jerusalem by the Anglican Church accomplished just the opposite ends for many years. The Eastern Church could not but regard it as a centre of proselytizing. While in the more recent years the English Bishops of Jerusalem and the Patriarchs of that city have exchanged many courtesies, and have fairly vied with each other in their efforts to be gracious hosts to the Anglican and American Episcopal Pilgrimages, the explanation of the actions of the Orthodox Patriarchate is to be found, in part, in the straitened financial condition of the Jerusalem Patriarchate and its civil subjection and economic dependence upon the present most efficient and welcome, as well as steadying, mandated government of Palestine by Great

[1] See *Occasional Papers of the Eastern Church*, etc., *op. cit.*
[2] *The Christian East*, vol. for 1920, p. 36 *ff.*
[3] *Idem.*

Britain. It is quite probable that in their inmost hearts the Orthodox resent, at least from a religious standpoint, the presence in Eastern lands of any other religious agencies for evangelizing or teaching purposes, though they are most glad for their charities, their aid in keeping out the Turk, and their economic assistance, rendered in many ways.

In 1844 a Memorial was presented to the Most Holy Patriarchal Synod of the Russian Church by certain Anglican clergy and laity who were opposed to State interference in their Church's doctrines, asking the Russian Synod to receive them into communion. As the Memorial did not come from the whole Church, the Russians took no formal action.

The General Convention of the American Protestant Episcopal Church appointed a joint committee in October, 1862, " to consider the expediency of opening communication with the Russo-Greek Church " and " to collect authentic information bearing upon the subject." The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, in its session of July, 1863, appointed a committee to communicate with the American Church " as to Intercommunion with the Russo-Greek Church," a distinct step in advance of that outlined for the Anglican Committee. Shortly thereafter the basis of the English Committee was still further extended by the suggestions of the first report of the Committee of Convocation that any overtures towards Intercommunion " should be extended to the other Eastern Patriarchates, and not confined to the Russo-Greek Church." Accordingly, on the reappointment of the committee, in the Convocation of June, 25th 1866, they were commissioned to extend their activities to seeking Intercommunion with the Oriental Churches or Orthodox Communion in general. The Lower House of Convocation, on July 4th, 1868, unanimously adopted the following resolution :

" That this House humbly prays his Grace, the President, that he will be pleased, in conjunction with his brethren of the Episcopal Order, to take steps towards opening direct negotiations with the Eastern Patriarchs and Metropolitans with a view to establish such relations between the two Communions as shall enable the Laity and Clergy of either to join in the Sacraments and Offices of the other without forfeiting the Communion of their own Church." They declared their belief that the Eastern Orthodox would be willing to consider intercommunion along these lines as evidenced by what they had said in their concluding letter to the Non-jurors in September, 1723. They further recommended this resolution in consideration of " the steps " which have been taken by the American Church."[1]

ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM

On the day of the actual institution of this Association representatives of the Roman, Greek, and Anglican Communions met at their respective altars for mass and prayer early on that morning of the

[1] *A Report of the Debate on Intercommunion with the Eastern Orthodox Churches.* London, Rivingtons, pp. 4–5.

Feast of the Nativity of the B.V.M., Sept. 8th, 1857.[1] At noon on the same day they met together in the parish church of St. Clement Danes, Strand, in the City of Westminster. "A dignitary of the Scottish Episcopal Church was in the chair. The following resolution was moved by a distinguished Roman Catholic layman, seconded by a well-known clergyman of the Church of England, supported by members of the Greek Church and others, and was unanimously adopted: 'That a Society, to be called the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom, be now formed, for united prayer that Visible Unity may be restored to Christendom; and that the Paper now before this meeting be sanctioned, printed, and circulated, as the basis upon which the Society desires to act.'"[2]

The official Paper circulated by this Association was distributed far and wide to Roman Catholic, Greek, and Anglican leaders, who looked to healing divisions by "Corporate Re-union of those bodies which claim for themselves the inheritance of the priesthood and the name of Catholic." In the literature thus sent out it was specified that those joining were not considered as expressing an opinion on any matter which might constitute a point of controversy, or on any religious question except that the object of the Association is desirable. Practically the entire program consisted of engaging in a daily prayer. The machinery for working the Association was of the simplest possible character. All who wish to join subscribed to the following prayer and promise:

> "O Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst unto Thine Apostles, My Peace I leave with you: My Peace I give unto you; regard not my sins, but the faith of Thy Church; and grant her that Peace and Unity which is agreeable in Thy Will, who livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen." (Then follows the Lord's Prayer.)
>
> "I willingly join the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom, and undertake (to offer the Holy Sacrifice once in three months and) to recite daily the above prayer for the intention of the same.
>
> Signed....."[3]

By 1864 seven thousand and ninety-nine had enrolled themselves as members. Of these, the great majority were members of the Church of England, one thousand were Latins, and three hundred were Greeks.

The Pope at Rome blessed the scheme at its inception, and then again when one of the English secretaries was granted an audience about the year 1863. Claim was made that the ex-Patriarch of Constantinople, and several other Eastern Prelates, had approved the Association, as well as several bishops, both Anglican and Roman Catholic, in England, Ireland, Scotland, on the Continent, and in America. It is said that about thirty-nine thousand copies of the papers of this Association had been distributed by 1864. Transla-

[1] *The Union Review*, Vol. II, p. 24 *ff.*
[2] *Idem*, p. 586 *ff.*
[3] *Idem*, Vol. I, pp. 24–25, footnote.

tions of the same had been made into Latin, Greek, French, and Italian.

In a review[1] of a sermon preached by Rev. E. S. Foulkes at All Saints, Lambeth, on the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, the reviewer says: "What has this Association done for the promotion of unity? We ask, but look in vain for any satisfactory reply. It has been frequently, industriously, and even ostentatiously, paraded before the eyes of the religious world. . . . We want something more than pretty shows. . . . It has failed to gain the confidence of Churchmen, or to unite those that are longing and willing to work for unity; it has failed to gain the respect of Englishmen or to attract the sympathy of Continentals; it has failed to teach the true principles of unity, or to secure the development of any feasible scheme of Re-union. But one thing it has done. It has forged a Re-union shibboleth, which, like a two-edged sword, is capable of doing much mischief; and having put this into the hands of those who are but babes in spiritual matters, it now finds that they are cutting their own fingers, and also aiming blows at the throat of the Association itself. *Corporate Re-union* is a neat phrase. . . Men feel, they know instinctively, that division, with all its attendant and inevitable evils, is far preferable to corporate unity at the expense of truth."

The author of this review of that anniversary sermon pays his respects, however, to the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom by pointing out that: (1) Its fourteenth anniversary is celebrated in fourteen or fifteen churches in London, and in an equal number outside London, from Aberdeen to the English Channel; (2) It can attract to the worst part of Lambeth men from a long distance to pay their respects to the founders of the movement; (3) It can secure the formal and deliberate sanction of the Convocation of Canterbury and of the General Convention of the Church in the United States; (4) It could assemble the Pan-Anglican Synod and inspire the Lambeth Encyclical. Therefore such a movement cannot be without a vast influence on the thought and sentiment of the age.

Among the weaknesses and faults of the Association the reviewer points out: (1) It is defective in organization; (2) Uninfluential in management; let a general meeting be convened, suitable offices secured, and a paid secretary; let it be a propaganda agency; (3) Corporate re-union of Protectant sects is absurd; (4) Opposed to Eclecticism and Comprehension; (5) More careful business accounting needed; (6) Lack of periodical reports; (7) Dissensions.

In 1867 it was recorded that the proceedings of "the A.P.U.C. were reprobated some two years back[2] in a series of the stiffest and dreariest letters imaginable by the Cardinal Prefect of the Roman Inquisition:[3]

[1] *The Union Review*, vol. for 1872, p. 18 *ff*.

[2] Nov. 8th, 1865.

[3] Various authorities of this period attribute the Roman Catholic action to Cardinal Manning and other English Roman Catholic converts. Cardinal Patrizi voiced the Papal reply. An actual and very respectful petition for re-union had been made by more than two hundred Anglican re-unionists. See Purcell, E. P., *Life of Manning*.

the principles of *The Union Review* and of the Ritualistic School have been persistently assailed with ingenious spite and vulgar abuse by most of the Roman Catholic organs in the country: the *Eirenicon*, the work of one whose great learning, immense diligence, scholarship mind, and simple devotion to the cause of religion, had been only two years since emphatically declared to have been the making of the whole movement, has, finally, been placed on the Index in company with the works of Renan and Strauss."[1]

Very soon after this adverse action on the part of Rome Mr. Ambrose Phillipps De Lisle, the noted Roman Catholic layman who, with the Rev. F. G. Lee, was a co-founder of the Association, withdrew from its membership, as did all others of his Communion. This was a death-blow to the movement, which was dissolved in 1869, and the death-knell of *The Union Review*, which was published for but a few more years under the most discouraging circumstances, suspending publication in 1874. Dr. Lee had been the editor from 1863 to 1869.

JOHN MASON NEALE (1818–1866) AND MORE RECENT LEADERS IN ANGLICAN-EASTERN RAPPROCHEMENTS

The favourable introduction of the Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Church of England to each other has been due chiefly, so far as the work of the Anglican Churchmen is concerned, to such men as John Covel,[2] Isaac Basire,[3] Edward Stephens,[4] John Mason Neale, Frederick G. Lee,[5] William Palmer,[6] R. F. Littledale,[7] William J. Birkbeck,[8] Mr. Athelstan Riley,[9] Bishop John Wordsworth,[10] Canon J. A. Douglas,[11] Bishop Charles Gore,[12] Dr. A. C. Headlam, Bishop of

[1] *The Union Review*, Vol. 80, pp. 236–238. The Eirenicon of Dr. E. B. Pusey is the one alluded to. See W. Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, 1912.

[2] See p. 94 *ff.* [3] See p. 93. [4] See p. 96. [5] See p. 203 *ff.*

[6] See his *Harmony of Eastern and Anglican Doctrine*, Aberdeen, 1846.

[7] See *Dictionary of National Biography* for bibliography of his publications.

[8] See p. 217.

[9] President of the Anglican and Eastern Association (formerly the Eastern Church Association). He has laboured throughout his life for the reconciliation of the Anglican Church and the Eastern Churches. In the entertainment of prominent visiting clergy and laity from the East, he performs a leading part. He was one of the Anglican delegation to the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order in 1927.

[10] Author of *The Church of England and the Eastern Patriarchates*, Parker, Oxford, 1902.

[11] Editor of *The Christian East*, and Greek scholar, performing greater service at this present time than perhaps any other interpreter of the Eastern Churches to the Church of England. His *The Relation of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox*, London, Faith Press, 1921, is especially informing, and contains a very well selected bibliography on the subject of his treatise.

[12] A scholar and teacher of the Church; combines recognized Catholic leadership with scientific scholarship. His chapter on the Holy Spirit and Revelation in *Lux Mundi*, 1894, first brought him to the forefront as a modern Catholic leader who accepts the findings of the latest and most constructive scholarship. He was prominent at the Malines Conversations and at Lausanne.

Gloucester,[1] Bishop Russell Wakefield,[2] H. J. Fynes-Clinton,[3] and Dr. H. J. White.[4]

Of all the foregoing, the one who probably did the most to teach England the theology, hymns, and history of the Eastern Church was Neale. He graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1840. The Oxford Movement was having its counterpart, similar, yet different, at Cambridge. By it Neale was influenced profoundly. As one of the founders of the Cambridge Camden Society he was a marked man. It is said that Dr. Sumner, the Bishop of Winchester, refused to license him in his diocese. He finally did obtain the position of Warden of Sackville College, an institutional home for about thirty aged poor householders. This was his only official relation with his Church. Harvard University granted him the degree of D.D. in 1860. On behalf of the Eastern Churches the Metropolitan of Moscow indicated their appreciation of his liturgical works by presenting him with a copy of the Liturgy of Starovertzi.

Dr. Neale was a very prolific writer, practically all of his publications having to do with the Oriental Church.[5] In more recent years the Church's debt to him has been more generally recognized. His life and works are testimonies to the adage that one cannot despise that which he truly knows and appreciates. Church denominations, generally, too often govern their attitude each toward the other by prejudices based on ignorance.

Dr. Nicholas Glubokowsky, Professor Emeritus of the Russian Orthodox Church, now Professor of the University of Sofia, Bulgaria ; noted Russian Orthodox scholar, now a refugee from his homeland, writing in the *Constructive Quarterly*,[6] stated that except for Birkbeck the English would be of the opinion that members of the Orthodox Church were " a sort " of idolaters, or a kind of Roman Catholics,

[1] See his *Teachings of the Russian Church*, Rivington, 1897 ; *The Doctrine of the Church and Re-union*, Bampton Lectures for 1920, John Murray, London, 1920. The world-wide Church, apart from Rome, acknowledges him as the most respected authority in the Anglican Church to-day on the problems of Christian re-union. See the full report of his address at Lausanne, " Official Report," Christian Student Union Press, 1927, p. 331 *ff.*

[2] Formerly Bishop of Birmingham and once (*c.a.* 1908) editor of the *Eirene*, magazine of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches' Union. He also headed one of the more recent (1925) Anglo-Catholic pilgrimages to the Eastern Churches.

[3] Bishop Wakefield's successor as the editor of *Eirene*.

[4] The present Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

[5] Some of Dr. Neale's works are :

Hymns of the Eastern Church : *translated with Notes and Introduction*, London, I. T. Hayes, 1862 ; *Voices from the East. Translated from the Original Russian, Slavonic, and French, with Notes*, London, Joseph Masters, 1859 ; *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*—Part I, London, 1850, 2 vols., Part II, London, 1847, 2 vols., Joseph Masters, Part III, published posthumously. Edited by George Williams. Rivingtons, London, 1873.

Part II, which gives a history of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, awakened a very unusual interest in England, and led to the founding (1863) of the Eastern Church Association. (George Williams, *The Present Attitude of the Orthodox Eastern Church towards the Churches of the Anglican Communion*, being Essay VIII of *The Church and the Age—Essays on the Principles and Present Position of the Anglican Church*, 2nd Series. Edited by Archibald Weir, London, 1872).

[6] Vol. V, 19, Sept., 1917, art., " W. J. Birkbeck and Russian Orthodoxy."

as " was testified by the Bishop of London as recently as 1916." . . . " In the whole course of history none has laboured so greatly as Mr. Birkbeck for the realization of religious communion between Russia and England, on the grounds of truth, salutary and necessary for both.[1] He has laid firm foundation in mutual acknowledgment and attraction by really and actually bringing the two into touch with one another." Cambridge University invited Mr. Birkbeck to give an entire course in the history of the Russian Church.

THE EASTERN CHURCH ASSOCIATION

On April 13th, 1863, at the residence of the Rev. W. Denton, 48, Finsbury Circus, London, representatives of four branches of the Anglican Church organized themselves into the Eastern Church Association.[2] The chairman, Mr. G. Nugee, pointed out that the Association being formed would not " propose schemes of union with the Eastern Church and so trench on the duty of Convocation."

The following were adopted as the objects of the Association : (1) To inform the English public as to the state and position of the Eastern Christians, in order gradually to better their condition through the influence of public opinion in England. (2) To make known the doctrines and principles of the Anglican Church to our Christian brethren in the East. (3) To take advantage of all opportunities which the providence of God shall afford us, for intercommunion with the Orthodox Church, and also for a friendly intercourse with the other ancient Churches of the East. (4) To assist, so far as our pecuniary means will permit, the Bishops of the Orthodox Church in their efforts to promote the spiritual welfare of their flocks.

An important Standing Committee was appointed to conduct the affairs of the Association.[3]

THE CHURCH UNITY SOCIETY

This Society, founded April 18th, 1864, arose in the midst of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, and had aims similar to the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom. Its Constitution, in brief, was as follows :

Article I. Forasmuch as, in the worship of our Church, we are accustomed to pray, " that all who profess and call themselves

[1] W. J. Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, should be seen in this connection.

[2] See *The Union Review*, London, Vol. II, p. 318 *ff.* ; also *The English Churchman*, April 14th, 1863.

[3] *The Union Review*, Vol. II, p. 319 *ff.* The members of that Committee were : the Rev. T. T. Carter, P. Cheyne, J. Comper, Hon. C. L. Courtnay, W. Denton, Prebendary Ford, Provost Fortescue, Dr. Fraser, W. T. Gaieve, H. P. Liddon, P. G. Medd, Dr. Neale, J. M. Rodwell, G. Williams, Dr. Wordsworth, Eugène Popoff, the Archimandrite Constantine Stratulia, R. Bent, Esq., J. Boodle, Esq. (Treasurer), Cyril Graham, Esq., H. E. Pellow, Esq., and C. L. Wood, Esq., with power to add to their numbers.

Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life" : therefore we, the subscribers, hereby associate ourselves as a Christian Unity Society to diffuse information concerning the common faith, and to labour for a restoration of the visible union and communion of all believers.

Article II. The Christian Unity Society proposes to do this chiefly by means and instrumentalities as follows : (1) By cherishing habitual kindness and good-will towards all Christian people, especially those of our own country, and by maintaining our own principles in a spirit of love for all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. (2) By aiding in the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in foreign languages and among foreign Christians. (3) By aiding in the diffusion of publications making known the principles of the Anglican Reformation, and of our own Reformed Communion. (4) By aiding foreign Christians, who may desire it, in their efforts to accomplish judicious reform in their own Communion. (5) By aiding Christians of our own Communion in wise efforts to establish Churches and Chaplaincies for our own countrymen residing in foreign lands. (6) By enlightening our own countrymen with respect to the character, claims, and wants of foreign Churches, their prospects and capabilities, and by drawing out the prayers and labours of American Christians in their behalf.

The Honourable Alexander W. Bradford was elected the first president of the Society. The first meeting following the adoption of the Constitution was held in New York, May 2nd, 1864. Several addresses were made, lamenting the divisions in Christendom.[1]

From 1862 to 1867 the American Russo-Greek Committee issued a number of valuable pamphlets, with the Secretary, Dr. Young, as editor. Dr. Young being made the Bishop of Florida, Dr. Charles R. Hale, the Bishop of Cairo, was appointed to succeed him as Secretary of the Committee. It was Dr. Hale who wrote the very able reports on the Eastern Church situation made to the General Conventions of the American Church in 1871 and 1874.[2] When the Russo-Greek Committee was replaced by the Joint Commission on Ecclesiastical Relations, Dr. Hale was made the Secretary of the New Commission.

On March 2nd, 1865, occurred the celebration of the Greek Orthodox Eucharist in Trinity Church Chapel, New York City. "For the first time in a thousand years"[3] the Sacred Liturgy, or Eucharistic Service, was celebrated in a Western Church by a priest of the Holy Orthodox Communion, the Nicene Creed, without the *filioque*, having been chanted in English. The priest was Father Agapius Honcharenko, a Slavonian in Russo-Greek Orders, and a monk of Mount

[1] *The Union Review*, Vol. II, p. 416 *ff*. See also *The New York Church Journal*, all numbers for 1864.

[2] See *Occasional Papers of the Eastern Church Association*, 1866, pp 70–72. Also see the 1874 *Journal of the Convention of the American Protestant Episcopal Church*, for copies of important letters from Anthimus VI, Patriarch of Constantinople, written Sept. 21st, 1872, and from Sophronius, Patriarch of Alexandria, dated April, 1873. Both are addressed to Dr. Hale, and breathe warm Christian love, and show an absence of the hitherto rather haughty spirit.

[3] *The Union Review*, Vol. III, p. 336.

Pentelicus, near Athens, who had been sent to minister to the members of the Greek Communion in New York. Bishop Horatio Potter, of New York, gave permission, the occasion being the anniversary of the accession of Alexander II. Sixty or seventy Slavonians, and fifty clergymen of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, were present.

In January, 1866, a London Conference was held by Anglican and Eastern Churchmen relative to Intercommunion between their two Churches. Some favoured Intercommunion before dogmatic unity, others took an opposite viewpoint.

EVENTS OF 1868–1875

The Governing Synod of Russia, replying in 1868 to a committee of Bishops of the American Protestant Episcopal Church who were petitioning for friendly relations with a view to ultimate intercommunion, especially in Alaska, said, " the Eastern Church firmly adheres to the principles and convictions so clearly stated in the message sent in 1723 by the Orthodox Patriarchs of the East in reply to the Anglican Bishops." This refers to the Non-jurors.[1]

In February of 1869, following a Resolution of July 4th, 1868, the Upper House of Convocation appointed a committee of three of its members to open communications with the Eastern Patriarchs.

Archbishop Lycurgus of Syra and Tenos, in a conference with the Bishop of Ely in 1870, said, " When I return to Greece, I will say that the Church of England is not like other Protestant bodies. I will say that it is a second Catholic Church, very like our own ; and I trust that, by friendly discussion, union between the two Churches will be brought about." He declared that the Greek Church considered the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception to be blasphemous.

In 1871 and 1874 there were published the very important reports, as to re-union correspondence, which Bishop Hale, Chairman of the Committee on the Eastern Churches,[2] made to the American Protestant Episcopal Church Conventions.

The negotiations between the Orthodox, the Anglicans, and the Old Catholics which took place at the Conferences of Cologne, 1872, and of Bonn, 1874, and 1875, are told of elsewhere.[3] English interest in the Churches of the East, so far as actual negotiations or exchanges of courtesies were concerned, lagged somewhat, until after the Pope denied the validity of the Anglican Orders. During that interim the interest of the Gallicans, especially of Loisy, Duchesne, Abbé Portal,[4] and others, in Anglican Orders, and the reciprocation of courtesies on the part of certain Anglo-Catholic leaders, such as Lord Halifax

[1] See p. 99.

[2] See *Journal of the National Convention of* 1871 *and* 1874. These Reports were also published as separate pamphlets.

[3] See pp. 245–249.

[4] Abbé Portal, *Les Ordinations Anglicanes*, Arras, Sueur-Charruey, 1894. This is the Abbé Portal (Fernand Dalbus), who took part in the Malines Conversations. See pp. 331 *ff*.

in particular, caused the attention of the Anglicans, whether interested or not, to be turned towards Rome. But the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* had such an effect, in disgusting the Catholics of the Anglican and the American Protestant Episcopal Churches, that from the day of its issue until the present those Catholics have directed the major portion of their interest and study, as well as their approaches for a larger catholic unity, Eastward. Further negotiations with the Eastern Churches will be noted later.

(4) ANGLICAN-SCOTTISH CHURCH NEGOTIATIONS, 1560–1892

We turn now to consider some of the efforts to unite the Church, or Churches, of Scotland with the Church of England. This has involved not only the problem of uniting them under one civil government, or king, but also the problem of either changing Presbyterianism over into Anglican Episcopalianism, or else the recognition, by the Church of England, of the validity and sufficiency of Presbyterian Orders. Before the Scottish Church became Protestant in 1560, it was, as we should remember, Roman Catholic, and therefore regularly organized with priests, bishops, archbishops, and brethren of certain of the religious Orders. Neither the Scotch Presbyterian nor the English Anglican High Church tendencies can be sympathetically appreciated unless one remembers that both England and Scotland were once Roman Catholic, and that the traditions and practices instituted at that time have persisted until the present day. The doctrine that Scotch Presbyterianism, as a polity, was a polity *jure divino*, was held as an indisputable dogma long before the Anglican Church leaders, from the days of Archbishop Laud until the present, set forth Episcopacy as a polity *jure divino*.

We have already noted the attempt at the establishment of the English Episcopate in Scotland in 1610 and again in 1661.[1] The bishops were then forced upon the Scottish Churches. Although many of these bishops were accused most unjustly, their conduct was such as to embitter the people of Scotland against them. The net result of these efforts was the beginning of the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1690, and a consequently greater determination than previously, on the part of many, to remain Presbyterian.

Dr. James Cooper states[2] that in the Scottish Assembly's letter of 1566 they wrote "to their brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England." On five different occasions[3] that Assembly elected as its Moderator John Willock, who was at one and the same time Superintendent of the West Church of Scotland, and Rector of Loughborough in England.

In 1705 there existed a real danger that Scotland, so much of which was loyal to the Stuart sovereigns and not at all reconciled to King

[1] See p. 40 *ff.*; 67 *ff.*
[2] James Cooper, *Re-union—A Voice from Scotland*, London, 1918, p. 19 *ff.*
[3] 1563, 1564, 1565, and twice in 1568.

William III. and Queen Mary, or to their successor Queen Anne, would break away from its union with England. From time to time there arose not altogether unfounded rumours that James II., who had fled to France, and later his son, James the Pretender, were either in Scotland or about to go to Scotland, which was in a mood to extend open arms to one, then the other, of them as its ruler. We are not to be surprised, therefore, that in 1705 there appeared a book, *A Draught for a National Church Accommodation whereby the Subjects of England and Scotland, However different in their Judgments Concerning Episcopacy and Presbytery, May yet be united, in regard to the Queen's Headship over Both in One Church and Kingdom of Great Britain.*[1] In this most interesting proposal the author refers[2] to two discourses by Lord Bacon on re-uniting England and Scotland. To accomplish this most desirable end the author of the *Draught* declares that there must be one Commonwealth and one Church. The *Draught* he submitted was intended not for union in worship, but for union in Government. The Church of England must be made the political society for all Christians in the land, both Conforming and Tolerating, with the Queen as the head, and with the Bishops as organizers. He argues that the Church must come under a double consideration, namely, as the Church of Christ and as the Church of England. Considered in the former aspect, there will be all sorts of differences of opinion, but considered as a National Church it can easily be made one ! Under his scheme the Bishops were to be the Queen's officers with only objective ecclesiastical powers. The office of Bishop being thus defined, it would be politic for her Majesty to appoint as Bishops Dissenters, as well as those who conformed. A third Clerk for the Convocation could be added to the two in every diocese, and he should be chosen from the Dissenters. The Convocations of Canterbury and York should be united into one Assembly. Both Simony and Pluralities must be abolished, as they " are the pests of the Conforming Clergy."[3] The author closes his proposals by expressing his conviction that under his scheme there would be no persecution for failure to conform for conscience' sake.

There seem to have been few, if any, approaches as between the Churches of England and Scotland during the whole of the eighteenth century. The Scottish Episcopal Church had a difficult struggle throughout those years. Only in comparatively recent times has it come into the closest fraternal relations, as well as full communion, with the Church of England. It in itself, of course, is a disestablished Church in Scotland. Dr. James Cooper makes a rather strange interpretation of the secession, which resulted in the Free Church of Scotland, in 1843, in his statement that " Whereas in England the revived recognition (due under God to the Oxford Movement) of the visible Church as an essential part of the program and creed of Christianity had had the effect of preventing schism and deepening

[1] John Humphrey was the author, according to the British Museum catalogue, although the *Draught* was published anonymously in London, 1705, for a bookseller, A. Baldwin, of Warwick Lane.

[2] *Idem*, p. 3.

[3] The *Draught*, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30.

the sense of its sinfulness, the contemporary and quite similar movement in Scotland gave instead the Disruption of 1843."[1]

Dr. Candlish, while yet a member of the Established Church, was the one who made the motion for the Act in the Assembly of 1839 which involved the union of the Associate Synod with the National Church. Then, as one of the leaders of the Free Church, he was very active in the negotiations between that Church and the United Presbyterian Church from 1863 to 1873. He ever spoke as though the reunion program of Scotland should aim at nothing less than the inclusion of all the Churches, including the Scottish Episcopal Church, in an all-embracing national Church.

Of the Scottish Episcopal leaders, Bishop Charles Wordsworth, of St. Andrews (1854–1892), was the foremost in efforts to unite his Church with the Presbyterians of Scotland. He constantly cultivated friendly relations with his neighbour Churches, and published in books and periodicals numerous appeals on behalf of Christian Unity.[2] He was particularly active for unity from 1854–1866; then disappointments arose which caused him to desist until in the winter of 1879–1880 he read the Croall Lectures by Dr. Milligan. The sentence which caught his attention was: "To speak of making the world believe in a risen Lord by mere Bible circulation or missionary exertion is to waste time and strength, unless it is attended by the spectacle of unity." The Bishop immediately wrote to Dr. Milligan, sending him printed prayers for unity which he widely circulated. From that time until his death in 1893, Bishop Wordsworth was active in season and out of season in promoting unity. At the time of the Cologne Conference in 1872 he was present as a representative of the Anglican Church. His conduct at this Conference was severely criticized in certain quarters. Bishop Wordsworth spoke and wrote much on the validity of Presbyterian ordination.[3] After reviewing what Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Hooker,[4] Dean Field,[5] Bishop Cosin,[6] and Archbishop Wake[7] had to say regarding the possibility of non-episcopal ordination, and the validity of the same in cases of necessity, Bishop Wordsworth concludes, "Hence it appears that those great divines did not speak of necessity as bearing upon the question in any strict narrow sense. They would admit a quasi-necessity, not, indeed, as permanent, but as temporary, arising out of long-standing associations or inherited circumstances."[8]

Bishop Wordsworth was responsible for the organization of the Scottish Christian Unity Association, which embraced many leading

[1] *The Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. 68, April, 1909, p. 164 *ff.*

[2] See *The Published Sermons of Bishop Charles Wordsworth*; also his Biography, written by his brother; and *Appeals on Behalf of Christian Unity*, by Bishop Wordsworth. Edinburgh, Macniven and Wallace.

[3] See *The Case of Non-Episcopal Ordination Fairly Considered. A Charge Delivered at the Diocesan Synod in Perth, Sept. 3rd*, 1885. Charles Wordsworth, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews.

[4] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, VII Chap. xiv, 11.

[5] Dean Field, Bk. iii, p. 157.

[6] Vol. IV, pp. 403, 408.

[7] M'Laine's *Mosheim*, Vol. VI, p. 124 *ff.*, and Vol. III, p. 475 *ff.*; see also p. 517.

[8] *The Case of Non-Episcopal Ordination*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10.

men of Episcopal as well as Presbyterian Churches, and held quarterly meetings for united prayer and conference.

In 1846 a strange event occurred. The Rev. William Palmer, of S. Mary, Magdalen College, Oxford, acting as the deacon of Bishop Michael H. Luscome in Paris and, fortified with letters from him, endeavoured to bring about intercommunion between the Russian and the Scottish Episcopal Churches.[1] He journeyed to St. Petersburg and presented his letters to the Holy Governing Synod, demanding to be received into communion. This was refused, since his was individual, and not Scottish Synodal action.

What is regarded as "the first memorable word in favour of re-union," including the Scottish Episcopal Church, spoken by a member of the Established Church of Scotland, was delivered by Dr. Bisset,[2] Moderator of the General Assembly in 1861. He believed that the different Communions, in a spirit of humility, should concur in a revision of their religious constitutions. Dr. Robert Lee and Principal Tulloch, both of the Council of Scotland, were greatly interested, about 1864, in the union of their Church with the Scottish Episcopal Church, but they were agreed that progress could not be made so long as the Church of England failed to recognize the validity of Scottish Orders.[3]

It will be remembered that Dr. Milligan, who had reawakened Bishop Wordsworth's interest in unity, was the first president of the Scottish Church Society, founded in 1892.[4]

(5) JOHN WILLIAM FLETCHER (1729–1785)

In John William de la Flechere the eighteenth century had one of its most sainted men. At his funeral John Wesley said that he had never met a holier man. Born in Switzerland in 1727, he became a distinguished classical scholar in the University of Geneva, later coming to England, where, by the preaching of leaders in the Wesleyan revival, he was led to enter the Christian ministry. He was ordained deacon and priest in the Church of England. Contrary to John and Charles Wesley, he preferred parochial to itinerant work, and in 1760 he accepted the living of Madeley. As a priest in the Church of England, he accomplished a marvellous service, coming to be regarded with utmost veneration and love by the clergy and laity of all religious parties. His attitude was always irenic. He was filled with the Spirit of God. In his spirit and method he was akin to Richard Baxter. In the Calvinistic-Arminian controversy that raged in his day he chose the side of Arminianism, and laboured incessantly in the spirit of the greatest humility and love for the reconciliation of the two factions. His greatest single contribution was his publication of

[1] See biographies of William Palmer (1811–1879) and M. H. Luscombe in *Dictionary of National Biography*. Palmer was received into the Church of Rome in 1855.

[2] James Cooper, art. in *The Church Quarterly*, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[3] See *Life of Dr. Robert Lee*, Vol. II, pp. 123–135, and *The Life of Principal Tulloch*, third edition, p. 212.

[4] See p. 149, and also James Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 169 *ff.*

Reconciliation in 1777. In this he set down on opposite pages "A Two-Fold Essay," the first on "Bible-Calvinism" and the second on "Bible-Arminianism." In Section VII of this book Fletcher gave certain "directions for Peace." They were as follows: "I, Let us endeavour to do justice to every part of the Gospel; II, Let us always make a proper distinction between essential and circumstantial differences; III, Let us leave to the Pope the wild conceit of infallibility; and let us abandon to bigoted Mahometans, the absurd notion, that truth is confined to our own party; IV, Let us be afraid of the sectarian spirit; V, Let us be afraid of needless singularity; VI, Let us never blame our brethren but with reluctance; VII, Let us, so far as we can, have a friendly intercourse with some of the best men of the various denominations of Christians around us; VIII, Let our religion influence our hearts as well as our heads; IX, Let us go on to the perfection and glory of Christianity; let us enter the full dispensation of the spirit."

In Section VIII of this same book,[1] Fletcher makes several exhortations to unity that are worthy of being recorded here. "Above all things have fervent charity among yourselves. . . . Glorify God with *one* heart and *one* mouth. . . . In baptism and at the eucharist, we are joined to all those who in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ, their Lord and ours. . . God is love. Let us be like our Father in Heaven. . . . Shall we make good by our ridiculous quarrels, Voltaire's statement that, 'The shameful quarrels of divided Christians have done more mischief under religious pretences, made more bad blood, and shed more human blood, than all the political contentions which have laid waste France and Germany, under pretence of maintaining the balance of Europe'?" After asking that pointed question, Fletcher goes on to say, "The King's business requires union. 'Why should my master's affairs suffer loss by the private quarrels of his servants?' said Sir Robert Walpole. So circumstances in Church and State call us to unite. . . . 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye love one another.'"

> "Love, like death, has all destroyed,
> Rendered all distinctions void:
> Names and sects, and parties fall,
> Thou, O Christ, art all in all."

> "So shall the world believe and know
> That God hath sent thee from above;
> When thou art seen in us below,
> And every soul displays thy love."

(6) DR. THOMAS ARNOLD'S SCHEME OF COMPREHENSION, 1832

The English Reform Bill of 1832 seemed to many to spell disaster to the Church of England, no two seemingly being agreed as to the nature of the disaster or as to the precautions necessary to avert the

[1] J. W. de la Flechere, *Reconciliation*, London, 1777, p. 74 *ff.*

same. In his historic Assize Sermon, which Newman declared marked the beginnings of the Oxford Movement, the Rev. John Keble, preaching at Oxford University in 1833 with the subject, "National Apostasy," interpreted the interference of Parliament in the polity of the Church as meaning that the Established Church was being forced to desert its loyalty to the Apostles and to accept dictation from civil authority.

Dr. Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School, recognizing the justice of Parliament's action in giving to the Dissenters many of the privileges long enjoyed by the Churchmen, proposed that the disaster which seemed to threaten the Established Church could be warded off by an Act of Parliament which would unite all the various dissenting sects with the Established Church. This Act was to be based on the principle of comprehension, not compromise.[1] His scheme included not only the Evangelical Dissenters but the Quakers and the Roman Catholics, though not in their "exactly present character." General and comprehensive language is to be used with respect to them. He made the following[2] suggestions, which, if followed out, would make the Church government more popular and more efficient: (1) By reducing the size of the dioceses; (2) By giving each bishop a council consisting of both lay and clerical members elected directly by the inhabitants; (3) By the institution of dioceses as general assemblies; (4) By admitting into the Establishment persons of a class much too poor to support the expense of a university education, but who may be exceedingly useful as ministers, and who now preach under circumstances which make them necessarily hostile to the national Church; (5) By allowing in many cases the election of ministers, or greater popular check over their appointment to parishes; (6) By constituting church officers in every parish, lay as well as clerical, who would share with the principal minister in its superintendence. Those who are now dissenting ministers might at once become ministers of the Establishment, and as such would have their share in its government. "This scheme," said Arnold, "supposes an episcopal government, and requires that all ministers should receive episcopal ordination." The Churches could have the liturgy and organ on Sunday mornings, with an informal service and no organ in the evenings.

Dr. Arnold's scheme raised a storm of protest. He was accused of latitudinarianism, so he wrote a "Postscript."[3] In this he stated that he "would have no renewal of the Savoy or Hampton Court Conferences; some of the leading Dissenters might be privately consulted." Arnold agreed that all Dissenters would not be reconciled at once, but fifty years would, he believed, see dissent utterly extinguished. His entire scheme never got further than its publication, and the storm of discussion in connection therewith.[4]

[1] Thomas Arnold, *Principles of Church Reform*, B. Fellowes, London, 1833.

[2] *Idem*, pp. 55, 56.

[3] *Postscript to Principles of Church Reform*, by Thomas Arnold. London, B. Fellowes, 1833, p. 1–7.

[4] For criticism against Arnold's scheme see Rev. William Palmer, M.A., *Remarks on the Rev. Dr. Arnold's Principles of Church Reform*, London and Oxford, 1833.

(7) THE OXFORD AND TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT, 1833——

Dr. Yngve Brilioth has recently written a very thorough history[1] of this Movement, his observations and conclusions being accepted by many scholars with different viewpoints. He points out that the Anglican Church from the time of Elizabeth "endeavoured to embrace both Catholics, in the wider sense of the word, and Protestants. But the Protestantism which was thus comprehended was of another type than the Continental, and in comparison with it, thin and negative."[2] . . . "The English Reformation did not depend on any new spiritual awakening."[3] He traces the Catholic or High Church tendency from Bishop Jewel of Salisbury (1552–1571), Archbishop Whitgift, Archbishop Laud (1573–1645), and Richard Hooker (1554–1600), to the leaders of the Oxford Movement, in 1833.

The Church of the Restoration following the Commonwealth was narrower than that of Laud because of the Act of Uniformity of 1662 and the Test Act. From Lancelot Andrews (1555–1626), who was successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, and who headed the list of those chosen by King James I. in 1607 to revise the Bible, to Bishop Ken (1637–1711) of Bath and Wells, "the direction of piety," says Brilioth, "is of decidedly Catholic temper."[4] The Non-jurors, especially men like Archbishop Sancroft, Dodwell, Robert Nelson, Bull, Beveridge, and William Law, were the custodians of the High Church convictions and practices from 1693 to as late as 1805. The Non-jurors being Jacobite, brought the High Church tendency into disfavour.

Archdeacon Charles Daubeny of Salisbury, in his *Guide to the Church*,[5] argued with the teaching of Vincentius of Lerins[6] as his basis, and defended the doctrine of Apostolic succession. He held that to preserve the unity of the Church it is necessary (1) to inform men that there is such a thing as an established constitution of the Church of Christ; (2) and to convince men that the Church is best calculated to carry these purposes into effect.[7] He believed that there could be no union except within the walls of the Church,[8] and that unity of doctrine is the only ground upon which unity in the Church can stand.[9] Bishop Van Mildert, who delivered the Bampton Lectures at Oxford in 1814, argued in favour of the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and of Apostolic succession.[10]

[1] *The Anglican Revival—Studies in the Oxford Movement, op. cit.* See especially pp. 1–171. See also R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement—Twelve Years*, 1833–1845, London, 1891. Thureau-Dangin, *La Renaissance catholique en Angleterre au XIXe siècle.*

[2] *The Anglican Revival*, etc., p. 1.

[3] *Idem*, p. 2.

[4] *Idem*, p. 5.

[5] Charles Daubeny, *Guide to the Church*, 1798, 2nd edition, London, 1804, third edition, Rivington, London, 1830. In 1803 he published *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*

[6] See p. 107 for "quod ubique," etc.

[7] Daubeny's *Guide*, 1830 edition, Vol. I, p. 362.

[8] *Idem*, p. 167. [9] *Idem*, Vol. II, p. 294.

[10] *An Inquiry into the General Principles of Scripture*, Oxford, 1815.

Alexander Knox, born at Limerick, Ireland, in 1757, and a descendant of John Knox, together with Bishop John Jebb of Limerick, was the immediate forerunner of the Oxford Movement. During the period of 1776–1785 Knox received spiritual advice through letters from John Wesley. One of the first conceptions of the Anglican Church as a Via Media was expressed in a letter written by Knox to Bishop Jebb in 1813.[1] In 1839, *A Tract for all Times, Peculiar Character of the Church of England*, by Bishop Jebb, was published.[2] Jebb had a very profound influence over Hugh J. Rose (1795–1838) of Cambridge.[3] Professor G. T. Stokes states that "Wesley begat Knox, and Knox begat Jebb, and Jebb begat Rose, and Pusey and Newman."[4]

Thus the Oxford Movement is represented not as something which sprang full-orbed from the minds of John Keble, R. H. Froude, J. H. Newman, and, later, E. B. Pusey, in the period from 1833, when Keble preached his sermon, "National Apostasy," to 1845, when Newman entered the Church of Rome, but rather as the accentuation of a High Church tendency which had ever been in the Church of England and also as not altogether unrelated to the revival under the leadership of John Wesley. So far as Newman was concerned, it was Calvinistic evangelicalism as represented in the writings of William Romaine[5] which gave him a warm spiritual fervour. Both Newman and Pusey, at the inception of the Movement, took as their text, "Holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord."

In the beginning the Oxford Movement was started because of the feeling on the part of such Catholic Anglicans as John Keble that the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, thereby allowing the Nonconformists to hold offices of State and causing the House of Commons to be no longer a Laymen's Synod of the Church of England, and the emancipation of the Roman Catholics from many civil restrictions in 1829, together with the move to disestablish the Church in Ireland, were all events which meant nothing more or less than national apostasy. The Church must bring its holy, catholic, apostolic character to the forefront, and assert its divine authority. It must revive its heritage from the ancient and early Church. Thus the Movement was at first Anglican. The first tracts were anti-Roman, especially Tract XX by Newman. In Tracts Thirty-eight and Forty-one Newman held up the Church of England as a Via Media, but a letter of Cardinal Wiseman to the *Dublin Review* in 1839 drew a comparison between the Anglican Church and the Donatists, convincing Newman that he had erred in the above Tracts.

[1] *Thirty Years' Correspondence between John Jebb, D.D., F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, and Alexander Knox, Esq., M.R.I.A.*, edited by the Rev. Charles Forster, B.D., 2 vols. London, 1834. Vol. II, p. 122 *ff.*

[2] First appeared as an Appendix in *Sermons on Subjects chiefly Practical, with illustrative Notes*, by Rev. J. Jebb, Rector of Abington, London, 1815. Second edition, 1816; third edition in 1824.

[3] Dr. A. C. Headlam, *Hugh J. Rose and the Oxford Movement.*

[4] *Contemporary Review*, 1887, art., "Alexander Knox and the Oxford Movement."

[5] See J. H. Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua.*

In Tract XC of January 25th, 1841,[1] Newman sought to show that the Thirty-nine Articles are not irreconcilable with the teaching of the Roman Church. From that day until the present the Oxford or Tractarian Movement has had more or less of a Romeward tendency in spite of the prodigious labours of Dr. E. B. Pusey, Bishop Charles Gore,[2] Dr. Darwell Stone, Mr. C. H. Turner and other exceedingly able leaders, who have sought to keep the Movement as one which seeks to revive early Anglican Catholicism and the Catholicism of the Church of the first Christian centuries.

With Newman, in 1845, and in the following years, many went into the Roman fold. In the years since, the tendency has been at times called the Ritualistic Movement, and, more recently, the Anglo-Catholic Movement. In the course of our studies we take note of Dr. E. B. Pusey's *Eirenicon*,[3] and we point out the part the Anglo-Catholics play in encouraging approaches towards Rome and the Churches of the East, and in discouraging any approaches toward the Evangelicals, whether in matters of home re-union in the British Isles, in any of the British Colonies, or of general re-union, as was considered at the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order in 1927. The Church of England is believed by some to be largely controlled by this group. A Catholic party of considerable strength is to be found in the American Protestant Episcopal Church. So far as the Church of England is concerned, its part in any general scheme of re-union is seriously modified, especially where evangelicals are involved, by the Anglo-Catholics' stand in relation to that group. On the other hand, the hostility of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy towards the English Church Catholics is illustrated by the words of the present Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Bourne, when he said: "To the Anglicans who invite us to join with them in morning or evening worship we have only one answer, that of the blessed Martyr, Margaret Clitheroe: "I will not pray with you, nor shall you pray with me, nor will I say 'Amen' to your prayers, nor shall you say 'Amen' to mine.'"[4]

The fact that the Anglican Church is Established holds it together. Should it be disestablished to the same extent as the Church of Scotland, so as to provide for union with the Free Churches, just what the Anglo-Catholics would do is a problem in connection with the difficulties of Christian unity which cannot now be solved. As Bishop Gore has well said, "Before we can wish to unite with other Churches, we must first become a unity ourselves."[5]

[1] Published Feb. 27th, 1841, under the title *Remarks on Certain Passages of the Thirty-nine Articles*. See Tract XC, *On Certain Passages in the XXXIX Articles*, 1841. Historical Preface by Rev. E. B. Pusey; and *Catholic Subscription to the XXXIX Articles Considered in Reference to Tract XC*, by Rev. J. Keble, 1841. London, 1866.

[2] Bishop Charles Gore, *The Anglo-Catholic Movement To-day*, A. R. Mowbray & Co.

[3] See p. 197 *ff.*

[4] Quoted in an editorial by Sir Henry Lunn, *The Review of the Churches*, Vol. V, No. 1, January, 1928, p. 15.

[5] *Idem*, p. 15.

(8) THE LAMBETH CONFERENCES

A. THE ORIGIN OF THE LAMBETH CONFERENCES

On March 28th, 1851, John Bird Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury, as a part of his plan for the celebration of the third jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, invited the American Bishops to take part.[1] In the invitation which he extended to them he said : " I venture respectfully to submit whether, at a time of controversy and division, the close communion which binds the Churches of America and England in one would not be strikingly manifest to the world if every one of their dioceses were to participate." From time to time, we are told, the idea of such union was renewed across the Atlantic. In 1853 the Bishop of Fredericton, Nova Scotia, assisted at the consecration of the Bishops of North and South Carolina. This was the first instance of an Anglican Bishop having any part in a consecration in the United States. Bishop Fulford of Montreal had a part in the consecration of Bishop Potter of New York in 1854. At that time Bishop Fulford suggested that the Churches in communion with Lambeth should meet together to repudiate the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, as it was then about to be promulgated.

In an article entitled " Signs of the Times,"[2] we find a memorial, from sundry clergy, which was presented to the House of Bishops in the General Convention of the American Protestant Episcopal Church. The object was to discover whether some way could not be found for the pacification of Protestant Christendom. In this memorial there was incorporated a review of Church history, with particular reference to the Reformation, both on the Continent and in England. The divisions of Christendom were deplored. They suggested that a general council be called (not specifying how or by whom), " to unite those who are estranged from one another, in all necessary harmony and unity, to put down error among Christians, and to spread a united and missionary Church over the whole world."

In answer to this memorial a commission of Bishops was appointed " to confer with the several Christian bodies in our land who were desirous of promoting godly union and concord among all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth." The commission formulated and published certain suggestions and recommendations that aroused inquiry and stimulated prayer, but resulted in no definite plans or actions leading to actual re-union.

When in 1867 Archbishop Longley issued the invitation to the Home and Colonial Bishops to assemble at Lambeth for what was to be the First Lambeth Conference of 1867, he stated, " we may consider together many practical questions, the settlement of which would tend to the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Master

[1] See *The Guardian*, London, June 19th, 1878, p. 857.

[2] See *The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*, Vol. VII, 1854–1855, pp. 59–70.

Jesus Christ, and to the maintenance of greater union in our missionary work, and to increased intercommunion among ourselves."

In these days, when all the branches of Anglicanism are in full intercommunion, it is difficult to realize that the time was when this great Communion was marked by divisions which kept them more or less aloof from each other. By the middle of the nineteenth century there was a very definite yearning in their midst for a closer union. There is no doubt but that the first cause for this yearning lay in the desire for greater efficiency and more Christ-likeness in missionary work; the second cause lay in the hope that a pan-Anglican synod would enable all of this Communion to come to greater unity and peace amongst themselves; third, in the determination of some of their leaders to keep their Church abreast with the other Churches in the matter of conference and co-operation between representatives dwelling in different continents; and lastly, that cause which was the immediate occasion of the calling of the First Lambeth Conference, namely, the fear on the part of the Colonial Anglican Churches that their legal status was such that the State had left them no autonomy in spiritual matters.

The desire evidenced for union that the missionary program might be more effectively advanced has been noted. With regard to greater concord within the Communion itself, it should be remembered that the Oxford Movement, which had had its inception for fairly aggressive action in 1833, was gathering momentum daily. A large number of the English clergy to whom this Movement was repugnant had joined with the evangelical Nonconformists in forming the Evangelical Alliance in 1846. The Oxford Reformers had been the veritable storm-centre of ecclesiastical turmoil, and it was a disconcerting jolt, to put it mildly, when Newman, together with many other Anglican clergy, entered the Church of Rome. The High Church party had been outraged by the part their Church had played in helping Emperor Frederick William IV. to establish the Protestant Episcopacy in Prussia and in Palestine in 1841. Distracted by such internal dissensions, the feeling that the Established Church of England and all its Colonial branches must get together in Conference, was further augmented by the fact that many of the dissenting Churches were joining with evangelical Churches of other lands, especially the United States, in great interdenominational missionary conferences, notably those held in New York and London in the year 1854.[1] Meanwhile, general education and scholarship were making their advances, while the means of transportation and communication were becoming so improved that the world was fast becoming one neighbourhood. Anglicanism must inevitably be transformed by its acceptance of the findings of scholarship, and by the readjustment of its polity from that of a highly privileged, insular and rigidly conservative State Church with many subordinate dependent religious bodies to a cosmopolitan, international Communion with all the various bodies practically autonomous.

But, strange to say, although quite in common with the reactions

[1] See p. 126-7.

of other Churches towards their first intellectual emancipators, it was the inability to unfrock successfully its first Bishop, thought to be guilty of the heresy of higher criticism, John Colenso of Natal, South Africa, who had published a book on the Pentateuch[1] which contained what for the most part are the commonplaces of accepted scholarship to-day, that caused the Colonial Anglican Church of Canada to make the appeal, in 1866, to the Archbishop of Canterbury that he call a Pan-Anglican Synod for the purpose of rescuing the Colonial Churches from being in such a subordinated relation to the Privy Council of England that they could not effectively eject heretical bishops from their Sees.

Bishop Gray, the Anglican Metropolitan of South Africa, brought Bishop Colenso to trial for heresy, found him guilty, and deposed him. But Bishop Colenso refused to be deposed. He continued to draw his salary. He appealed to the British Privy Council, the Supreme Court of all British Colonial possessions. The Privy Council decided in favour of Bishop Colenso, declaring that Bishop Gray had no Letters Patent giving him power to depose Colenso. This seemed to put the Colonial Churches on a precarious basis.

At a provincial Synod of the Canadian Church, held September 20th, 1865, it was unanimously agreed, on motion of the Bishop of Ontario, to urge upon the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Convocation of his Province that means should be adopted " by which the members of our Anglican Communion in all quarters of the world should have a share in the deliberation of her welfare, and be permitted to have a representation in one General Council of her members gathered from every land."[2] In a more personal letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury they said that they were in danger of being " governed by canons different from those in force in England and Ireland, and thus cause us to drift into the status of an independent branch of the Catholic Church."[3]

The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, at its spring meeting in 1867, urged the Archbishop to call the Conference. Consequently on February 22nd, 1867, the Archbishop sent invitations to one hundred and forty-four bishops. Of these, seventy-six accepted the invitation, while the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Ripon, Peterborough, and Manchester definitely declined.

B. THE FIRST LAMBETH CONFERENCE, 1867

The Conference met on Tuesday, September 22nd, 1867. Its first act was the celebration of the Holy Communion in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace. Bishop Whitehouse of Illinois preached the sermon. The deliberative meetings were held in the upstairs dining

[1] In 1863 the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury condemned some of the publications of Dr. Colenso, viz., *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, Parts I and II.

[2] See *The Lambeth Conference of* 1867, 1878, *and* 1888. Rt. Rev. Randall T. Davidson. New and revised edition, 1896, pp. 9–133.

[3] *Idem*, p. 53 *ff*.

hall or "guard room" of the Palace. Of the seventy-six Bishops who attended, eighteen were English, five Irish, six Scotch, twenty-four Colonial, including five Metropolitans, and nineteen from the United States. Seven of the non-attending Bishops later authorized the signing of their names to the Encyclical which was issued.[1] No invitation was extended to Bishop Colenso. For this reason a critic dubbed the Conference as being "private." All of the sessions were held in secret, although in the *Guardian* of June 19th, 1878, there was printed a verbatim report of practically all of the proceedings. The fact that the Conference was held in secret, and was not attended by all of the Bishops, together with the controversies attendant upon its meeting, caused Dr. A. P. Stanley, then Dean of Westminster, to decline the use of the Abbey by the Conference for Sunday, September 28th. He did not wish to be sanctioning by implication what was not known as the action of the Conference.

Though this First Lambeth Conference met for a comparatively brief session, and though, contrary to the assurance from the Archbishop that the Colenso affair would not be injected into the discussions, the same matter was introduced and vehemently debated, nevertheless, the total accomplishments were monumental on the constructive side.[2] Anglicanism was thereby set on the road towards becoming a much strengthened and more truly united world-wide Christian body. We are particularly concerned as to what the Bishops resolved with regard to union as among themselves and as between themselves and the other Churches. This Lambeth Conference, in common with all others of its successors, was not an official governmental body of the Anglican Church. It is a consultive and advisory conference. But in the course of the years since 1867 the pronouncements, or encyclicals, of the Lambeth Conferences, though not the findings of their Committees, have a well-nigh morally binding effect throughout the whole of this Communion. We do well to consider what the first of these Conferences had to say relative to Christian unity.

In the Preamble to their subsequent resolutions they said: "We, Bishops of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, in visible communion with the United Church of England and Ireland, professing the faith delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures, maintained by the primitive Church and by the Fathers of the English Reformation . . . express the deep sorrow with which we view the divided condition of the flock of Christ throughout the world, ardently longing for the fulfilment of the prayer of our Lord: 'That all may be one as Thou Father art in Me and I in Thee, that they may also be one in us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me': and lastly, we do here solemnly record our conviction that unity will be most effectively promoted by maintaining the faith in its purity and integrity, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the primitive Church, summed up in the

[1] *The Lambeth Conferences of* 1867, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 77. They were the Bishops of London, Oxford, Lincoln, Ely, Lichfield (elect), Montreal, Grahamstown, and Bishop Trower.

[2] See Chart of the Lambeth Conferences (facing p. 323) for a review of the accomplishments of this Conference in matters of unity.

Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed Councils and by drawing each of us closer to our Lord, by giving ourselves to much prayer and intercession, by the cultivation of a spirit of charity, and a love of the Lord's appearing."

In Resolution II on "Condition of Unity," (a), we read, "That in the opinion of this Conference, 'Unity in the Faith,' and fellowship in the one body of Christ, will be best maintained among the several branches of the Anglican Communion in the manner already pointed out by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury: *viz.*, by the due and canonical subordination of the Synods of the several branches to the higher authority of the Synods above them, the Diocesan Synod being recognized as inferior to the Provincial Synod, and the Provincial Synod to some higher Synod or Synods of the Anglican Communion."[1]

THE WOLVERHAMPTON CONGRESS

On September 30th, 1867, while a number of the Bishops from distant lands were still in England, after attending the Lambeth Conference of that year, a Congress of Anglicans assembled in the Agricultural Hall at Wolverhampton.[2] On Tuesday evening, October 1st, the general subject for discussion was "The Best Means of Bringing About Unity of Doctrine and Worship in This Country." Lord Lyttelton read the first paper. He argued that the Church of England must regain control of its internal life, and suggested that certain changes should be made in the Athanasian Creed, and in the service for the baptism of infants; that the term "sacrament" should be extended in its application; that the Thirty-nine Articles ought to be revised, and certain other changes made. The Rev. G. Venables spoke next, advocating a Conference with the Free Churches, and suggesting many accommodations in favour of the latter. Lord Nelson regretted the coldness which drove out the Wesleyans. The Hon. J. Napier moved, and the Bishop of Ely seconded, a proposition to refer the whole matter to a future Congress, but the presiding officer ruled that to put a resolution was contrary to the rules. Hence nothing concrete resulted. But a self-constituted committee very soon thereafter organized a society for the re-union of English Christendom within the Anglican Church. This society held several union services with special speakers. It conducted several conferences, at the most important of which there were six Anglican priests and six Congregationalists present, with Lord Nelson in the chair. In 1878 the members of the group joined the "Home Re-union Society," founded by William T. Mowbray in 1873.

[1] *The Lambeth Conferences*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 83.

[2] The London *Guardian*, Oct. 9th, 1867. See also *The Times* of London, Sept. 30th–Oct. 12th, 1867. Also Ollard and Crosse, *Dictionary of English Church History*, art. on "Home Re-union," where Mr. Ollard mistakenly gives 1869 as the date of the Congress. See also Spencer Jones, "England and the Holy See, Chapter VI, *The History of Re-union*, p. 406 *ff.*

C. THE SECOND LAMBETH CONFERENCE, 1878.

Towards the assembling of the Lambeth Conference of 1878 the Canadian Church again took the initial step. It was in December, 1872, that the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada formally appealed to the Convocation of Canterbury to unite with them in a request to Archbishop Tait of Canterbury, who in 1869 had succeeded Dr. Longley as the Primate of all England. The result was that on July 10th, 1877, invitations were issued to one hundred and seventy-three Bishops to assemble at Lambeth on Tuesday, July 2nd, 1878, for a Conference of four weeks' duration. The first subject selected for discussion and so indicated in the letter of invitation was: "The best mode of maintaining Union among the various Churches of the Anglican Communion."[1]

One hundred Bishops were in attendance at the Conference. In the "Report of the Committee on the best mode of maintaining union among the various Churches of the Anglican Communion," God is thanked for the visible unity all of the Churches in communion with the Church of England now have. There is unity in doctrine, in teaching, in Apostolical Orders, in the Sacraments, in the Canonical Scriptures, in one Divine Head, in one Catholic and Apostolic Church. There is diversity as to custom, discipline, and worship, but this is no cause for worry. To preserve the unity of Christendom, a General Council might be resorted to, but this is impossible. It is likewise impossible to hold a Synod of all the Anglican Churches. The idea of a Conference at Lambeth especially commends itself. The principle of autonomy within each Province or Diocese is asserted and upheld. The branches of Anglicanism are urged to engage in common work on the mission fields, such union work as that then contemplated in Shanghai, and as was being carried out at Kaffraria by the Churches of England and Scotland, being especially commendable. There should be letters of commendation to clergy and laity who go elsewhere. A special "Day of Intercession"[2] for the unity of Christendom is recommended, this "to deepen and strengthen that unity of His Church for which our Lord earnestly pleaded in His great intercessory prayer." Not wishing to interfere with the generally accepted Day of Prayer for Missions, they suggest Tuesday after Ascension Day, or any of the seven days thereafter, for this day of special prayer. They resolved, "But as our Divine Lord has so closely connected the unity of His followers with the world's belief in His own Mission from the Father, it seems to us that intercessions for the enlargement of His Kingdom may well be joined with earnest prayer that all who profess faith in Him may be one flock under one Shepherd." They advised against any diversities of worship aside from the Book of Common Prayer. They expressed the earnest hope that Churchmen of all views would submit themselves in matters of ritual and ceremonial to the authoritative national Church of which they are members.

[1] See *The Five Lambeth Conferences*, by Miss Honor Thomas, S.P.C.K., London, p. 82 *ff.* See also *The Lambeth Conferences of* 1867, 1878, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 154. See also the Chart of the Lambeth Conferences, facing p.323.

[2] *The Lambeth Conferences of* 1867, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 169–170.

D. THE THIRD LAMBETH CONFERENCE, 1888

Previous to the Lambeth Conference of 1888 certain important events had taken place which gave "evidence of a strong consensus of authoritative opinion, from various branches of the Anglican Communion," that the time for special action to further Christian unity had arrived.[1] Besides certain activities in the Province of Canterbury, various Synods of the Colonial Church were showing a strong desire for the Church to take some advanced action. This was especially true of the General Synod in Australia and Tasmania in 1886, of the Diocesan Synod of Montreal, of the Provincial Synod of Rupertsland, and the General Synod of New Zealand in the same year. In Canada at the Session of its Provincial Synod in 1886, "a Joint Committee was appointed to confer with any similar Committees which might be appointed by other religious bodies on the terms upon which some honourable union might be arrived at."[2] But "The most important practical step"[3] was taken by the American Protestant Episcopal Church in their General Convention of 1886 at Chicago. A petition signed by a thousand clergy and thirty-two Bishops called upon that Convention to make a definite proposal for Christian re-union. Accordingly, a Committee from the House of Bishops presented a notable and historic report, which contained what they believed to be the essential basis for the restoration of unity to the Body of Christ on earth. That basis was:

"1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as the Revealed Word of God.

2. The Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith.

3. The two Sacraments—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—administered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and the elements ordained by Him.

4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church."

They declared their readiness to enter into[4] brotherly conference with other Christian bodies, and created a Commission who should, at their discretion, communicate their declaration made on that tenth day of October to the organized Christian bodies of the United States. Only the Northern Presbyterians made any particular response.[5] But the effect of their action on the Lambeth Conference of 1888 was immediate and very pronounced.

In the Encyclical Letter, for which the whole Conference declared itself responsible, the following statements appeared:

"The attitude of the Anglican Communion towards the religious

[1] *The Lambeth Conferences of* 1867, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 331. For a brief statement of the accomplishments of this Conference relative to unity, see Chart facing p. 323.

[2] *Idem*, p. 333. [3] *Idem*. [4] *Idem*, p. 334.

[5] See p. 337 of text.

bodies now separated from it by unhappy divisions would appear to be this: We hold ourselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference with any of those who may desire intercommunion with us in a more or less perfect form. . . . We cannot desert our position either as to faith or discipline. That concord would, in our judgment, be neither true nor desirable which should be produced by such surrender. But we gladly and thankfully recognize the real religious work which is carried on by Christian bodies not of our Communion. We cannot close our eyes to the visible blessing which has been vouchsafed to their labours for Christ's sake."[1]

The Committee appointed to consider the relations of the Anglican Communion to the Scandinavians, the Old Catholics, and certain Reforming Bodies reported in part as follows: "In regard to the Swedish Church . . . as its standards of doctrine are to a great extent in accord with our own and its continuity as a national Church has never been broken, any approaches on its part should be gladly welcomed, with a view to mutual explanation of differences, and of ultimate establishment, if possible, of permanent intercommunion, on sound principles of Ecclesiastical polity. Greater difficulties are presented with respect to communion with the Norwegian and Danish Churches by the constitution of their ministry; but there are grounds of hope in the growing appreciation of Church order. . . ." The Swedish Lutheran Church is Episcopally governed, having never surrendered the Episcopal succession when it became Protestant. But in the threefold ministry it omits the diaconate. The same Committee, in reporting for the Old Catholics, dealt with them by countries. As for the Old Catholics of Holland, they are found to be in agreement with the English Church at many points, and the belief was expressed that with more frequent brotherly intercourse "many of the barriers which at present separate us might be removed." In Germany the Old Catholic Church was reported as having acted wisely in that it did not retain the possession of the ancient Sees. It had returned to the standards of the undivided Church, and emphasized catechetical instruction rather than articles of confession. The Committee did not consider that they were really in schism from the Roman Church, and could see no reason why their clergy and faithful laity should not be admitted to Holy Communion on the same conditions as Anglican communicants. Differences in marriage laws would oblige the English Church to debar from Holy Communion any person who might have contracted a marriage contrary to the laws and canons of the Anglican Church. "The Christian Catholic Church" in Switzerland should receive "the assurance of the same sympathy and the offer of the same privileges" as the Germany Old Catholics. The Old Catholics of Austria have a constitution providing for the presidency of a Bishop, but no one has been elected to this position owing to the difficulties of securing the salary required by law. The Committee held that the organization in Austria was not sufficiently tried and complete to warrant a more formal relation on the part of the Anglican Church at that time. What they reported as with regard

[1] *The Lambeth Conferences*, etc., p. 272.

to the Austrian Catholics, they were convinced also applied to the separate Catholic congregations in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal.

Then follows a very significant statement: "We desire, in our outlook into the future, to call to mind the well-known declaration of the Gallican Clergy of 1862, and also the advances made by Archbishop Wake in correspondence with the Doctors of the Sorbonne, towards establishing a basis for intercommunion between the Churches of France and England. If some such principles could now be revived, we have reason to believe that they would be welcomed by many both in France and Italy, and they might again form the basis for hopeful negotiations."[1]

According to Dr. Davidson (now His Grace, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury) in his account[2] of this Conference of 1888, the letter of Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir referred to was that of November 18th, 1718, when the Archbishop is quoted as saying, "If we could only once divide the Gallican Church [from the Roman][3] a reformation in other matters would follow as a matter of course." It is good to note that in the Encyclical Letter of this Conference the rather unethical suggestion of Archbishop Wake was not sanctioned. To quote this Encyclical Letter, "we deprecate any precipitancy of action which would transgress primitive and established principles of jurisdiction."[4]

The last religious group considered by this particular Committee with a view to possible union were the United Brethren, sometimes called the Moravians. The report stated that Bishops, who had been designated by the Lambeth Conference of 1878 "to associate with themselves such learned persons as they might deem eminently qualified to assist them by their knowledge of the historical difficulties involved" in seeking re-union with the Moravians, were not able to act upon this recommendation, and therefore had no report to bring before the Conference.

In the Encyclical Letter all of the foregoing recommendations are finally dealt with in three paragraphs, from two of which we have already quoted. It was in this connection that the Conference of 1888, taking into consideration the Quadrilateral of the Chicago Convention of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, reissued it in a slightly modified form. We shall deal with this further on in our narrative. As for the Scandinavian Churches, the Encyclical states that "fuller knowledge should be sought and friendly intercourse interchanged until such time as matters may be ripe for a closer alliance without any sacrifice of principles that we hold to be essential."[5]

We come now to the report of the Committee appointed to consider the relation of the Anglican Communion to the Eastern Churches. They warn against any hasty or ill-considered step in this direction. Expectations of a nearer fellowship are founded upon the friendliness

[1] *The Five Lambeth Conferences, op. cit.*, p. 165.
[2] *The Lambeth Conferences of* 1867, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 344, footnote 2.
[3] The words in the brackets are the author's.
[4] *The Lambeth Conferences*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 273.
[5] *Idem*, p. 273.

of the letters between the various Archbishops of Canterbury and the Patriarchs of the Eastern Orthodox Church, as well as upon the cordiality of the welcome given by the heads of that Church to the Anglican Bishops and Clergy, as in the case of the Bishop of Gibraltar, who had travelled in the East. They asserted that further grounds for hope were furnished by the visit of Lycurgus, late Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, to England in 1870, when he made highly appreciative remarks about the Church of England to the Bishop of Ely.[1] They were further encouraged by the same Archbishop's words at the conclusion of the second Conference held at Bonn.[2] The Committee further stated that their Church was encouraged to make approaches toward the Eastern Churches by the request which the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem had recently sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking that the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem should be reconstituted, and that the Bishop's headquarters should be placed in that city rather than at Beyrout or elsewhere.

The Committee, however, did not wish to cover up the hindrances toward re-union that existed on either side. Amongst these they mention the omission of the *filioque* clause, and the practice of trine immersion on the part of the Orthodox. They find difficulty as with regard to the Eastern rite of confirmation, inasmuch as " it omits the imposition of the Bishop's hands, and is usually conferred upon unconscious infants," yet they do not regard this as requiring members of the Orthodox Church to receive Anglican Confirmation. The Eastern use of icons, their invocation of the Saints, and their cultus of the Blessed Virgin, all make it more difficult for the Anglicans to enter into more intimate relation with that Church, although the Easterns expressly disclaim the sin of idolatry since theirs are icons, and not sculptured or moulten images. They say that the Greeks hold that the sanction of the use of icons was given in the Seventh Ecumenical Council (the Second Council of Nicæa), in reaction against the rationalizing measures of iconoclastic emperors. The Committee, in reply, believe that the Greeks might be reminded that, the decrees of the Seventh Ecumenical Council having been deliverately rejected seven years afterwards by the Council of Frankfurt, and never having been accepted by the Western Church until two centuries later, and then only by Papal pressure, could not be regarded as Ecumenical teaching. The Committee advised against all forms of proselytizing and believed it to be desirable that the Heads of the Eastern Churches should be given some authoritative document which contained the historical facts as with regard to the Anglican Orders, and to the relation of this Communion to the Catholic Church.

The same Committee made sympathetic reference to the Armenian, Coptic, Abyssinian, Syrian, and Chaldean Churches. Even though

[1] See p. 220.

[2] *The Lambeth Conferences*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 348, footnote : " He said to Dr. Von Döllinger, ' In the name of all those of my own communion I thank you, Mr. President, for your marvellous efforts in the work of re-uniting the several Churches, of bringing together again the so numerous divisions of the Rock of our Redeemer. Our joy is full ; and there will be great joy in our homes also. We earnestly pray God for His further blessing ! "

these communities may have fallen into error and shown a lack of moral and spiritual life, they have prevented Christianity from being utterly extinguished in those countries. Their improvement should be sought, and they should be induced to return to the unity of the faith without prejudice to their liberty. Such was the purpose of the Assyrian Mission that had been established, and was then continuing under Anglican auspices.

So much for the findings of the Committee appointed to consider the relation of the Anglican Communion to the Eastern Churches. What was said about the problem in the Encyclical Letter of 1888? This letter briefly sanctions the Committee's reports. The Eastern Churches deserve the greatest sympathy. Thankfulness is expressed that there exist no such bars between the Anglican and Eastern Churches as exist between the Anglican and Roman Churches. The Roman treatment of the Eastern Church, in that they intrude their Bishops into the ancient Dioceses, and keep up a system of active proselytism, is condemned. The English Church is to take care lest it likewise offend. But it is right that the real claims of the English Church as an historical Communion should be set before the Churches of the East. Help should be given in the education of the Orthodox clergy, and in extending schools for general instruction in destitute communities.

Let us conclude our consideration of the Lambeth Conference of 1888 by directing our attention to the various resolutions which it passed, and more particularly Resolutions Eleven and Twelve, which contain the historic Lambeth Quadrilateral. These two Resolutions, more than any other statement or document, have formed the basis for either negotiations or discussions relative to union between Catholics and Evangelicals in modern times. They are as follows:

"11. That, in the opinion of this Conference, the following Articles supply a basis on which approach may be by God's blessing made towards Home Re-union:—

(A) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

(B) The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

(C) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

(D) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church."[1]

"12. That this Conference earnestly requests the constituted authorities of the various branches of our Communion, acting, so far as may be, in concert with one another, to make it known that

[1] *The Lambeth Conferences*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 280–281, for Resolutions 11 and 12.

Year.	Rome.	Eastern Orthodox.	Eastern Separate Churches.	Old Catholics.
1867	This Conference made no reference to any other Churches by name. In the Preamble to the *promoted* by maintaining orthodoxy as taught in the Scriptures, and in the Creeds held by th The unity of the Anglican Communion may be preserved by subordination of the Sy on "Condition of Union."			
1877	This Conference had as its first topic of discussion, "The best mode of maintaining Union autonomy in the Branches of the Anglican Communion. A Synod of all the Anglican Church should submit themselves in matters of ritual and ceremonial to the authoritative national who go elsewhere. The Branches of the Anglican Church are urged to work together in common			
1888	Accused of proselytizing amongst the Churches of the East. Infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff, and the dogma of Immaculate Conception are bars to communion with the Latins. Committee Report recommended approaches to separate Catholic groups in France and Italy.	Earnest desire to confirm and improve friendly relations which now exist. They deserve great sympathy. The Eastern Church is reasonably outraged by Rome's proselytism. Resolution 17 expresses hope that all barriers to fuller communion may be removed.	Internal reformation of the Eastern Churches encouraged, rather than proselytizing. (Resolution 17.)	Great sympathy expressed, but time has not come for any direct alliance. Advances may be made which will not transgress primitive and established principles of jurisdiction. Frequent intercourse with Old Catholics in Holland with a view to removal of barriers. (Resolution 15 [a].)
1897	No Resolution referring to this Church. Committee refer to Pope Leo XIII. Encyclicals on unity. With reference to his condemnation of Anglican orders, he had confined his condemnation to the same basis as did Pope Clement XI. in 1704, when he pronounced the consecration of Bishop Gordon of the Scottish Episcopal Church null.	The Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London are requested to act as a Committee, with power to add to their number, to confer personally or by correspondence with the heads of the Eastern Churches for the purpose of securing a clearer understanding and closer relations.	Sympathy expressed by the Committee and willingness to give help in distress.	To the Old Catholics they continued "the offer of the religious privileges by which the clergy and faithful laity may be admitted to the Holy Communion on the same condition as their own communicants." (Resolution 28.) Special committee gave lengthy report of the statistics of the various Old Catholic Churches in Europe.

[1] See pp. 230 *ff.*, 235 *ff.*, 241

ENCES AND RE-UNION.[1]

Reformed Churches.			Home Re-union.	Attitude.
Swedish.	Unitas Fratrum Moravians.	Others.		
itions, sorrow is expressed for the divided condition of the flock of Christ throughout the world. Unity may be nitive Church and affirmed by the undisputed Councils—by prayer and cultivation of the spirit of charity. of the Branches to the Synods above them, and of the Provincial Synods to some higher Synod. Resolution II				
gst the various Churches of the Anglican Communion." They decided in favour of local possible, hence they commended the idea of Lambeth Conferences. Churchmen of all views h of which they are members. Letters of commendation should be given to clergy and laity e Mission fields.				"Day of Intercession" for the unity of Christendom is recommended—the Tuesday after Ascension Day or any of the seven days thereafter. Official "Letter" V.10.
fuller knowledge d be sought and ily intercourse hanged" with the linavian Churches. Resolution 17: proaches on the of the Swedish ch with a view to utual explanation ifferences would ost gladly welcd." edish Church is ppal, but lacks the nate.	The Archbishop is requested to appoint a Committee, which shall confer and report to His Grace before the end of the current year. (Resolution 16.)	Earnest efforts should be made to establish more friendly relations with the other Scandinavian Churches as well as to the Swedish.	Basis of Approach: 1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as "containing all things necessary to salvation," and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith. 2. The Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith. 3. The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Lord's Supper — ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him. 4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.	In the Encyclical: "We hold ourselves in readiness to enter into brotherly Conference with any of those who may desire intercommunion with us in a more or less perfect form." "We cannot desert our position either as to faith or discipline."
e Archbishop of rbury requested rther investigate validity of the ish Orders, and t back to the next eth Conference. lution 39.)	The Archbishop of Canterbury is requested to appoint a committee for further investigation. The Committee of 1888 had acted and reported need of more information.		Quadrilateral was discussed in Committee, but it was not made the subject of any Resolution.	Committee of bishops to watch for opportunities of united prayer and mutual Conference between representatives of the different Christian bodies, and to give counsel where counsel may be asked. (Resolution 40.) Hope is expressed for a revival of such Conferences as those held at Bonn in 1874 and 1875. (Resolution 33.) Resolution 35 calls for special intercession for unity: "Every opportunity should be taken to emphasize the Divine purpose of visible unity amongst Christians as a fact of revelation." Committee recommended that constituted authorities should themselves arrange conferences.

ff., 327., 304-321; 427 *ff.*; 433 *ff.*

Year	Rome.	Eastern Orthodox.	Eastern Separate Churches.	Old Catholics.
1908	Useless to consider question of possible Intercommunion, yet no projects of union can ever be considered as satisfactory which deliberately leave out the Churches of the Latin Communion. Warn against marriages with Roman Catholics. All Anglican Chaplains in Europe should show courtesy to clergy of Roman Communion.	Recommends that the Committee to confer with these Churches be made permanent; that properly qualified communicant members be admitted to Anglican communion; that they baptize children of members of this Church in case of emergency	Committee found that Nestorianism and Monophysitism probably no longer exist as heresies in these Churches. Steps should be taken to ascertain their exact doctrinal position with a view to possible inter-communion.	Old Catholics and Anglicans had mutually offered to receive each other's members at their communions. Deprecated the setting up of newly-organized Old Catholic Churches in America, England, and elsewhere, where there is already the Anglican Church with Apostolic Ministry and Catholic doctrine. (Resolution 69.) Desires to maintain and strengthen friendly relations. (Resolution 68.)
1920	Report of Sub-Committee reaffirmed the statement of the Committee of 1908 that there can be no fulfilment of the Divine purpose in any scheme of re-union unless the Latin Church is included. There are movements going on within the Roman Church that appear to be fruitful for the future. (Committee Report.)	Welcomes the appointment by Archbishop of Canterbury of Permanent "Eastern Churches Committee." (Resolutions 18–19.) Deep sympathy to Russian Church expressed. (Resolution 17.) The American Church has appointed a similar Commission. (Committee Report.)	Committee has found that heresies once attributed to them are unfounded. Occasion of inter-communion by the orthodox and worthy is recommended. (Resolutions 20–22.)	Desire to maintain and strengthen friendly relations. Old Catholic Bishops at Utrecht, April 28th–29th, 1920, had repudiated "Bishop" A. H. Mathew, who had attempted to establish the so-called "Old Catholic Church in Great Britain." (Resolutions 26–27.)

NCES AND RE-UNION.

	Reformed Churches.			
VEDISH.	Unitas Fratrum Moravians.	Others.	Home Re-union.	Attitude.
tion 74 re- ie Archbishop erbury "to a Commission spond further he Swedish through the op of Upsala, view to an	A 1906 Committee reported that their claim to Episcopacy was not proven. Conference recommends a relation to the Unitas Fratrum as with regard to ordination and consecration of their clergy and bishops which involved practical absorption, at least purely Anglican consecration or ordination before their orders could be recognized. (Resolutions 70–72.)	Among non-Episcopal Churches the Presbyterians present the most hopeful prospect. Might be possible to make an approach to them on the lines suggested by such precedents as that of 1610. (See Resolution 75 and Section VII of Report of Committee on Re-union and Intercommunion.) They will not pronounce negatively upon the value in God's sight of the ministry in other communions. Recommend private meetings with members of other Communions such as those of Christian Unity Association of Scotland. (Resolutions 77 and 78.)	Resolutions 75–78 suggest approach towards the Presbyterians on the lines of the Precedent of 1610, (75); co-operation with members of other Communions for social and moral welfare of the people (76); private meetings with members of other Churches to promote mutual understanding (77); constituted authorities of the Anglican Communion should arrange conferences and meetings for acknowledgment of the sins of division and for intercession for the growth of unity.	"The waste of force in the Mission Field calls aloud for unity" (Encyclical.) Re-union is a goal to be sought aggressively with much prayer. The action of the Conference of 1897 is reaffirmed. Their hearts are warm for unity. Committee recommended that they should themselves originate such conferences. Resolution 76: "every opportunity of co-operation with members of the other Communions in matters pertaining to the moral and social welfare of the people." Resolutions 77 and 78: they should arrange conferences for unity.
s qualified to in this ould be per- commune in n of England. ecclesiastics permitted to sses in Angli- hes. ited, one— more than ican Bishop ke part in on of a Swed- o. (Resolu- 5.)	Unable to recommend the action contemplated in Resolutions 70–72 of 1908 so long as the Unitas Fratrum retain the practice of the administration of Confirmation and the celebration of the Holy Communion by deacons. No further progress until these practices are stopped. (Resolutions 29–30.)	Unable to accept the proposal of the "Southern Synod" of the "Reformed Episcopal Church" for re-union. (Resolution 31.)	Visible unity of the Church will involve whole-hearted acceptance of: The Holy Scriptures as the record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; and the Creed commonly called Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles Creed as the Baptismal Confession of belief. The divinely instituted Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, as expressing for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ. A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the Commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body. The Episcopate is the one means of providing such a ministry. Non-Episcopal ministries have spiritual reality and have been used by the Holy Spirit as means of grace. (Resolutions 9–16.)	Resolution 10. Authorities of the Anglican Church should "formally invite the authorities of other Churches to confer with them, so as to restore the unity of the Church." Interchange of pulpits, and communion on the part of non-episcopal, non-confirmed members of other Communions at Anglican order—but no general scheme of pulpit exchange or of intercommunion is recommended.

they hold themselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference (such as that which has already been proposed by the Church in the United States of America) with the representatives of other Christian Communions in the English-speaking races, in order to consider what steps can be taken, either towards corporate Re-union, or towards such relations as may prepare the way for fuller organic unity hereafter."

When the foregoing Quadrilateral, as found in Resolution 11, is compared with that adopted at Chicago in 1886, we find that numbers three and four in each case are identical. As with regard to number one, in the place of " as the revealed Word of God," the Lambeth Conference wrote, " as ' containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith." In respect to number two Lambeth added at the beginning " The Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Symbol."

It should also be noted that in Resolution 12 they state that " they hold themselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference." It will be noted as we proceed that in the following Lambeth Conferences this passive attitude toward re-union becomes both active and aggressive, that is, the bishops are urged to initiate such conferences, and to write to the responsible authorities of other Communions inviting them to join in negotiations for re-union. Resolutions thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen look toward the dissemination of information about the Anglican Church which they believe will help to bring about re-union, and to the establishment of more friendly relations with the Scandinavian and Old Catholic Churches. Approaches on the part of the Swedish Church with a view to mutual explanation of differences would be most gladly welcomed.

E. THE FOURTH LAMBETH CONFERENCE, 1897[1]

The Lambeth Conference of 1897 is generally considered as one that did not give much of its attention to the matter of Christian re-union, but as a matter of fact its Committee on Church Unity, with the Archbishop of York as the Chairman, made a very important report which was evidently based upon extended investigations. They first deal with the Churches of the East. As proof of friendly feeling, they instance the cordial welcome given to the Rt. Rev. M. Creighton, then Bishop of London, who, as the Bishop of Peterborough, was present at the coronation of the Tsar. The four patriarchs of the East had heartily welcomed the arrival of the Anglican bishopric at Jerusalem. Steps should be taken to bring the Anglican Liturgy to the attention of the East, and to bring the Eastern Liturgies and Catechisms before the English and American Episcopal Churches. They recommend the appointment of a committee with authority to communicate with the heads of the various Orthodox Churches to ascertain in an official manner how far union may be possible without sacrifice of principle,

[1] See Chart facing p. 323 for a brief review of this Conference's work in matters of Christian unity.

also to find out just how much real desire there is amongst the Eastern Churches for re-union. As regards the Latin Church, they made reference to a series of documents that had been issued by Pope Leo XIII., in which he had expressed his desire for the union of Christendom. They held it to be unfortunate that he had asserted that the only basis for union must be the recognition of Papal supremacy as a divine right. Then comes their reference to the Pope's condemnation of Anglican Orders, though they do not refer to that incident in such terms. They say: "In the last of these documents the Pope proceeded to an examination of the position of the Church of England, and thus called forth an answer from the Archbishops of the English Church." They expressed thankfulness "in the abandonment by the Pope of much irrelevant and spurious matter which previously rendered discussion hopeless; in the limitation of the sphere of controversy to definite points." By the foregoing the Committee undoubtedly had reference to the Pope's omission of the Nag's Head fable and other of the allegations in connection with the ordination of Archbishop Parker, and his confining his condemnation to the same basis as that pointed out in 1704, when Pope Clement XI. pronounced the consecration of Bishop Gordon of the Scottish Episcopal Church as being null. The basis of this condemnation, then, and as re-expressed in the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, has been fully dealt with in another connection.[1] While the Committee expressed appreciation that the Pope has thus limited the sphere of the controversy, the issue of which they awaited with entire confidence, they declared that under the circumstances it would be useless to consider the question of re-union with Rome.

Dealing with the problem of re-union with other Christian bodies, they repeat the Quadrilateral of 1888, and state that they are unable to concede more. They reassert their faith in the Anglican Church as being the Via Media, recalling the statement of the eminent Roman Catholic, Count Joseph de Maistre, who declared that the English Church was endowed with a quality analogous to that possessed by chemical intermedes combining irreconcilable substances. They believed that they should neither forget nor annul that particular quality of their Church.

After reviewing the Quadrilateral point by point, they state that in America many of the Presbyterians were not unwilling to remember that their forefathers would have accepted the Episcopacy in England in 1660 had the laity been recognized as now in the American, the Irish, and certain other of the Colonial Churches. The Committee were glad to record that the divine purpose of unity was being increasingly realized. They were able to find "an ever-growing hope of reconciliation in the historical phenomenon of circumstances generating a condition in the world of thought." The circumstances to which they referred were: larger and more liberal views of the interpretation of the Scripture;[2] movements which lead to an enlarged and corrected knowledge of

[1] See p. 208 *ff.* See also *The Five Lambeth Conferences, op. cit.*, pp. 246, 247.

[2] This is our contention in the discussion of the progress of scholarship in spiritualizing the Scriptures. See p. 128.

early Church history ; the overthrow of philosophical systems which discolour and deprave God's attributes ; love and faith in the living ascended Christ giving beauty and earnestness to Christian worship. All these, they believed, were circumstances leading to the Anglican conception of the Church and its worship, in which both truth and unity will be so combined as to subdue the world to Christ. As to the practical steps for the realization of union, they quoted Resolution 12 of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, where they stated that they held themselves in readiness to consider approaches, and then proceeded to a very significant further step in this Conference of 1897 by saying that they "should themselves originate such conferences and especially arrange for representative meetings for united humiliation and intercession."[1]

With regard to the Unitas Fratrum, they refer to the fact that the Committee of 1878 delegated to study the problem having presented no report, and the Committee appointed by the Conference of 1888 having made certain investigations and having laid their findings before the Archbishop of Canterbury as directed ; they as a Committee were of the opinion that on certain questions further investigation and consideration were desirable. The status of the movement looking toward intercommunion with the Swedish Lutheran Church was then explained by this special Committee. They pointed out that the chief interest for union lies with the American Protestant Episcopal Church, since many members of the Church of Sweden have entered the United States as immigrants. The General Convention of that Church in 1895 had refused to adopt the following resolution : "That (while not giving any judgment with regard to the validity or otherwise of ordinations ministered by the Established Church of Sweden, for the reason that the subject is now before the Lambeth Conference) for the greater security of our own people, this General Convention judges it right that without first receiving the Order of Deacon, and afterwards that of Priesthood, with the undoubtedly sufficient form of words provided by our Prayer Book, and from a Bishop in communion with this Church, no Minister of the Swedish Church shall be allowed to officiate in any Congregation under the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Protestant Episcopal Church."[2] The American Church had appointed a special Committee to investigate the Swedish Church, with the result that they found certain irregularities and omissions in that Church's ordinals and liturgy which led them to formulate the foregoing resolution. The Lambeth Conference Committee followed their reference to the above resolution with a rather detailed description of the Episcopal succession in the Swedish Church, and of its orders and ordinals.

In this Conference of 1897, instead of considering re-union with the various Old Catholic bodies under the head of Union Movements, they appointed a Committee to consider and report upon the subject of "Reformation Movements on the Continent of Europe and Elsewhere." This Committee reported that the Old Catholic Church in

[1] *The Five Lambeth Conferences, op. cit.*, p. 251.
[2] *Idem*, p. 253.

Germany then numbered ninety-six congregations, fifty-six thousand adherents, and one bishop. The Christian Catholic Church in Switzerland had one bishop, fifty-eight clergymen, and fifty-thousand adherants. In Mexico there had been formed a Mexican Episcopal Church which was no longer a mission, but was fully organized with a governing Synod. They mentioned other independent Catholic Churches,[1] expressing the greatest sympathy with them. They made similar reference to the Catholic Church in Austria and Brazil, the latter being the result of the mission work of the American Protestant Episcopal Church. The Committee concluded by saying that the condition for the recognition of these Catholic Churches and for intercommunion with the same should be " satisfactory evidence that the bodies applying are sound and clear as touching the fundamental verities of the Christian faith, and that the offices for the administration of the Sacrament are in accord with our own liturgical standards."

We have just been considering the findings of those Committees of the Lambeth Conferences of 1897 which were appointed to bring in findings regarding certain Churches. Let us next consider what resolutions were passed on the basis of their findings. Resolutions 34 and 35 read as follows :

> " 34. That every opportunity be taken to emphasize the Divine purpose of visible unity amongst Christians, as a fact of revelation."
>
> " 35. That this Conference urges the duty of special intercession for the unity of the Church in accordance with our Lord's own prayer."[2]

Resolution 36 provided that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London be requested to act as a Committee, with power to add to their number, to confer personally or by correspondence with the heads of the Eastern Churches for the purpose of securing clearer understanding and closer relations between the Churches concerned. No resolution seems to have been passed concerning re-union with the Latin Church. While the Quadrilateral was discussed in Committee, it was not made the subject of any resolutions. As to the Unitas Fratrum,[3] the Archbishop of Canterbury was requested to appoint a Committee to conduct further investigation on the subject. In pursuit of this investigation they were to confer with the representatives of that religious group. With regard to the validity of Swedish Orders,[4] they likewise requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to investigate the subject and report back to the next Lambeth Conference. To the Old Catholics they continued " the offer of the religious privileges by which the Clergy and faithful Laity may be admitted to the Holy Communion on the same conditions as

[1] Independent Latin Churches in Spain, with one bishop, ten clergymen, and 1,170 communicants ; Portugal, 5 clergymen and 336 communicants ; Italy, with one bishop, an independent Synod and liturgy, with ritual and constitution of its own, and with twelve congregations and 1,000 communicants ; and France, with its independent Episcopal Church supervised by the Archbishop of Utrecht.

[2] *The Five Lambeth Conferences, op. cit.*, p. 205.

[3] *Idem*, p. 206, Resolutions 37, 38.

[4] *Idem*, p. 206, Resolution 39.

our own Communicants."[1] The Churches in Austria, Mexico, Brazil, France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal were all sympathetically considered.[2] The hope is expressed that there may be a revival of such conferences as those held at Bonn in 1874 and 1875.[3] The Bishops of the several Churches of the Anglican Communion are "urged to appoint Committees of Bishops, where they have not already been appointed, to watch for opportunities of united prayer and mutual conference between representatives of different Christian bodies, and to give counsel where counsel may be asked in this matter. That these Committees confer with and assist each other, and regard themselves as responsible for reporting to the next Lambeth Conference what had been accomplished in this respect."[4]

In the Encyclical Letter that which we have just quoted, together with Resolutions 34 and 35 which are quoted above, is re-emphasized. The appointment of the various investigating Committees recommended in the Resolutions is here referred to, and heartily sanctioned.[5]

(9) THE OLD CATHOLIC UNITY CONFERENCES

The First Old Catholic Conference[6] was held at Munich, September 22nd–24th, 1871. The Vatican Council of 1869–1870 had promulgated the Dogma of Papal Infallibility. To this many refused to submit. Professor J. J. I. von Döllinger and Johann Friedrich von Schulte were excommunicated in April, 1871. The remonstrants had met and held a mass meeting in Munich that month, with Döllinger presiding. In September, 1871, the First Congress of the Old Catholics was held, in the Glass Palace at Munich, under the presidency of von Schulte, professor of Canon Law at Prague. A committee consisting of Döllinger, von Schulte, Reinkens (afterwards first bishop of the Old Catholics), Friedrich, and others, protested against the actions of Rome and the Vatican Council; declared the charge of Jansenism against the Church of Utrecht to be false; and expressed a desire for re-union with the Eastern Orthodox Church, and for a gradual understanding with other Episcopal Churches and with the Protestants. They asserted that scientific culture is essential to the Catholic Clergy, rejected plenary Papal authority as dangerous to the State, and demanded the suppression of the Jesuits.

The Second Old Catholic Congress was convened at Cologne, September 19th–22nd, 1872.[7] Dr. von Schulte presided, as he had done the year previous. The Archbishop of Utrecht strongly advised against separation from Rome. On the Monday following the close of the Conference, the Committee on Church Union held a special session.

[1] *The Five Lambeth Conferences, op. cit.*, Resolution 28, p. 204.
[2] *Idem*, Resolutions 29–32, pp. 204–205.
[3] *Idem*, Resolution 33, p. 205.
[4] *Idem*, Resolution 3, pp. 206–207.
[5] *Idem*, pp. 182–198 for Encyclical Letter. Resolution and Reports, pp. 199–286.
[6] *The Union Review*, vol. for 1872, pp. 64–75 *ff*.
[7] *Idem*, vol. for 1873, p. 113.

Besides Fathers Yanischeff, Tatchaloff, and Alexander Kirieff, there were present members of the Anglican Communion[1] and a few Protestants. This Committee set itself up as ready to receive the Confessions, of any or all Communions, which it would judge as to correctness, having in mind the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, of the Holy Fathers of the undivided Church, and the Constitutions of the Seven Ecumenical Councils.

In February and March, 1872, Dr. Döllinger delivered his noted lectures on "Re-union in the Churches"[2] in the Great Hall of the Museum at Munich. These lectures indicate his very great revulsion against the new Vatican dogma and against the Jesuits, upon whom he places the blame for many grievous evils in Roman Catholicism as well as for many schisms and defeats of plans for unity. He also made a fair résumé of the Christian Union movements up to that time, though he omitted many with which he probably was unacquainted.[3]

Dr. Döllinger, who had issued the invitations for the Conference at Bonn, Germany, presided when it met August 10th–16th, 1874. About forty members were present.[4] Lutheran and Evangelical theologians were present as invited guests, but took no active part in the transactions. The objects of this Conference were as follows: (1) "To produce a renewed common confession," having due regard for "the continuity of the earlier Christendom." (2) Upon the ground of this confession "to accomplish the re-establishment of an intercommunion and churchly federation, that is, without going so far as an amalgamation and without prejudice to peculiarities in doctrine, constitution, and ritual, in the general tradition of national churches."[5]

A second more important Conference met here in August, 1875.[6] The most important achievement of these Conferences was the adoption of Articles on the Procession of the Holy Spirit at the Conference of 1875. These are generally regarded as being a satisfactory statement of the *filioque* controversy, especially for the Anglican and

[1] Bishop Charles Wordsworth, the Bishops of Ely and of Maryland, Dean Stanley of Westminster, Lord Charles Hervey, Secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society, and others.

[2] John J. I. von Döllinger, *Re-union of the Churches;* for unfavourable review of same see *The Christian Observer*, Vol. 73, 1873, pp. 241 *ff.*

[3] For example, Dr. Döllinger states that after Leibnitz's efforts towards unity there was a period of one hundred and thirty years before any further activities are to be found.

[4] Schaff, *History of the Creeds of Christendom, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 545, lists those members as including several prominent Old Catholics; 5 representatives of the Orthodox Russians and Greeks; Anglicans, Bishop Brown of Winchester, Dean Howson of Chester, Canon Liddon of St. Paul's, Warden Talbot of Keble College, Oxford, Professor J. E. B. Mayor, of Cambridge, Canon Conway of Westminster, and others; American High Church Episcopalians, Bishop Kerfoot of Pittsburg, the Rev. Dr. Langdon of Geneva, N.Y., the Rev. Dr. Nevin of the American Episcopal Church in Rome, and others.

[5] *Conference at Bonn, Held from Aug. 10th–16th, 1875, under Presidency of Dr. von Döllinger.* Edited by Dr. Fr. Heinrich Reusch. Translated from the German by Rev. Samuel Buel, D.D.

[6] Also under the Presidency of Dr. Döllinger. There were 113 present, consisting of 18 Old Catholics, 7 Evangelicals from Germany, 22 E. Orthodox, 50 from Great Britain, and 15 from America.

Eastern Churches. The agreements reached relative to the *filioque* were as follows :

(1) " We agree together in receiving the ecumenical symbols and the doctrinal decisions of the ancient undivided Church.

(2) We agree together in acknowledging that the addition of the Filioque to the Creed did not take place in an ecclesiastically regular manner.

(3) We acknowledge on all sides the representation of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as it is set forth by the Fathers of the undivided Church.

(4) We reject every proposition and every method of expression in which in any way the acknowledgement of two Principles of ἀρχαί or αἰτίαι, in the Trinity may be contained."

ARTICLES ON THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

" We accept the teaching of St. John of Damascus respecting the Holy Ghost, as the same is expressed in the following paragraphs, in the sense of the ancient undivided Church :

(1) The Holy Ghost goes forth out of the Father (ἐκ τοῦ πατρός), as the Beginning (ἀρχή), the Cause (αἰτία), the Source (πηγή), of the Godhead.[1]

(2) The Holy Ghost goes not forth out of the Son (ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ), because there is in the Godhead but one Beginning (ἀρχή), one Cause (αἰτία), through which all that is in the Godhead is produced.[2]

(3) The Holy Ghost goes forth out of the Father through the Son.[3]

(4) The Holy Ghost is the Image of the Son, who is the Image of the Father, issuing out of the Father, and resting in the Son as His revealing power.[4]

(5) The Holy Ghost is the personal Production out of the Father, belonging to the Son, but not out of the Son because He is the Spirit of the Mouth of the Godhead, which speaks forth the Word.[5]

(6) The Holy Ghost forms the mediation between the Father and the Son, and is bound together to the Father through the Son."[6]

The 1874 Conference adopted fourteen Theses which still have considerable importance in any plan for union between the Eastern Orthodox, the Old Catholics, and the Anglicans. The Theses as finally agreed upon were :

(1) " We agree that the apocryphal or deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament are not of the same canonicity as the books contained in the Hebrew Canon.

(2) We agree that no translation of Holy Scripture can claim an authority superior to that of the original text.

(3) We agree that the reading of Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue cannot lawfully be forbidden.

[1] *De recta sententia*, n. 1. *Contra Manich.*, n. 4.

[2] *De fide orthod.*, I, 8 : ἐκ τοῦ ὑἱοῦ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν, πνεῦμα δὲ υἱοῦ ὀνομάζομεν.

[3] *De fide orthod.*, I, 12 ; *c. Manich.*, n. 5 ; *De Hymno Trisag.*, n. 28 ; *Hom. in Sabb.*, s.n. 4.

[4] *De fide orthod.*, I, B ; *De fide orthod.*, I, 7 ; I, 12.

[5] *De Hymno Trisag*, n. 28.

[6] *De fide orthod.*, I, 13. For foregoing agreements see *Conference at Bonn*, etc., Dr. Reusch, editor, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–200.

(4) We agree that, in general, it is more fitting and in accord with the spirit of the Church, that the Liturgy should be in the tongue understood by the people.

(5) We agree that faith working by love, not faith without love, is the means and condition of man's justification before God.

(6) Salvation cannot be merited by 'merit of condignity,' because there is no proportion between the infinite worth of the Salvation promised by God and the finite worth of man's works.

(7) We agree that the doctrine of *opera supererogationis*, and of a *thesaurus meritorum sanctorum, i.e.*, that the overflowing merits of the saints can be transferred to others, either by the rulers of the Church, or by the authors of the good works themselves, is untenable.

(8). A. We acknowledge that the number of sacraments was fixed at seven first in the twelfth century, and then was received into the general teaching of the Church, not as a tradition coming down from the Apostles or from the earliest times, but as the result of theological speculation.

B. Catholic theologians (*e.g.*, Bellarmine) acknowledge, and we acknowledge with them, that Baptism and the Eucharist are *principalia, præcipua, eximia salutis nostræ sacramenta.*

(9) A. The Holy Scriptures being recognized as the primary rule of faith, we agree that the genuine tradition, *i.e.*, the unbroken transmission, partly oral, partly in writing, of the doctrine delivered by Christ and the Apostles is an authoritative source of teaching for all successive generations of Christians. This tradition is partly to be found in the consensus of the great ecclesiastical bodies standing in historical continuity, with the primitive Church, partly to be gathered from the written documents of all centuries.

B. We acknowledge that the Church of England and the Churches derived through her have maintained unbroken the Episcopal succession.[1]

(10) We reject the new Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as being contrary to the tradition of the first thirteen centuries, according to which Christ alone is conceived without sin.

(11) We agree that the practice of confession of sins before the congregation or a priest, together with the exercise of the Power of the Keys, has come down to us from the primitive Church, and that, purged from abuses and free from constraint, it should be preserved in the Church.

(12) We agree that 'indulgences' can only refer to penances actually imposed by the Church herself.

(13) We acknowledge that the practice of the commemoration of the faithful departed, *i.e.*, the calling down of a richer outpouring of Christ's grace upon them, has come down to us from the primitive Church, and is to be preserved in the Church.

(14) The Eucharistic celebration in the Church is not a continuous repetition or renewal of the propitiatory sacrifice offered once for ever

[1] *Conference at Bonn*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 197, footnote. Here it is stated that this was the view of the Old Catholic Theologians present.

by Christ upon the cross; but its sacrificial character consists in this, that it is the permanent memorial of it, and a representation and presentation on earth of that one oblation of Christ for the salvation of redeemed mankind, which, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix, 11, 12), is continuously presented in Heaven by Christ, who now appears in the presence of God for us (ix, 24).

While this is the character of the Eucharist in reference to the sacrifice of Christ, it is also a sacred feast, wherein the faithful, receiving the Body and Blood of our Lord, have communion one with another (I Cor., x, 17)."[1]

[1] *Conference at Bonn*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 196–198. See also *The London Quarterly Review*, Vol. 46, for further Bonn Conference details.

PERIOD IV

THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY ADVANCE : THE MISSIONARY URGE AT ITS HIGHEST POINT : INTERDENOMINATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION SOCIETIES : CHURCH FEDERATIONS : ORGANIC UNIONS : UNITY WITHIN BODIES HAVING THE SAME GENERAL DOCTRINE AND POLITY : THE RISE OF NATIONAL CHURCHES : CATHOLIC AND EVANGELICAL EFFORTS AT RAPPROCHEMENT

" And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold : them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice ; and they shall become one flock, one shepherd."

—S. John x, 16.

" And it shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills ; and all nations shall flow into it."

—Isaiah ii, 2.

" But when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory : and before him shall be gathered all the nations."

—S. Matthew xxv, 31–32.

" We in our Commission and you in this Conference have surely had before you the vision of unity, a vision fair and beautiful, far better and higher than anything we have dreamt of before. . . . Even now it seems the Spirit of God is preparing men in all sections of the Church for the answer to that prayer, (the prayer of St. John xvii). We will await that answer patiently. It may be that it will be long delayed, but meanwhile we will keep this ideal before our minds constantly and never forget it. We will endeavour in all our fellowship with our brethren of all sections of the Church to be animated by brotherly love and forbearance and never to be intolerant and arrogant ; we will endeavour in every respect gradually to seize every opportunity of conference and co-operation, that we may be brought, in our work, closer to one another, and so closer to our Lord."

—Sir Arthur Fraser,
Chairman Edinburgh Conference
Commission on Co-operation and Unity, 1910.

CHAPTER VI

TWENTIETH-CENTURY UNITY MOVEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH MISSIONS. CHRISTIAN UNITY SOCIETIES. CO-OPERATIVE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The twentieth century, so far as co-operation between the Foreign Mission Boards or Societies is concerned, opened very auspiciously. From April 21st to May 1st, 1900, occurred the Ecumenical Missionary Conference of numerous missionary societies in Carnegie Hall, New York. At this most significant gathering there were fifteen hundred delegates from American and Canadian, and two hundred delegates from British and Continental Societies besides six hundred foreign missionaries who were present. In all, one hundred fifteen different societies were represented, coming from forty-eight different countries. This was the greatest general missionary conference Protestantism had ever held up to that time. From the standpoint of numbers present and enthusiasm shown it has never been surpassed.

In 1902 the Missionary Education Movement was founded in the United States. It provided for co-operative work on the part of various denominations in preparing and disseminating missionary information.

By way of increasing interest in the whole cause of missions, and, incidentally, as an excellent preparation for the next general missionary conference, namely, that in Edinburgh in 1910, the Laymen's Missionary Movement, which had its beginnings in 1906 in the United States, made no small contribution. It was an outgrowth of the Student Volunteer Movement. Under its auspices many union conventions were held in cities of the United States, thereby stimulating great interest in, and giving extended information as to foreign missionary activities. A very natural and inevitable by-product was the obliteration, to a certain extent, of hard-and-fast denominational lines.

(2) THE WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE AT EDINBURGH

We come now to the consideration of what was the most significant missionary conference in modern Christendom, namely, the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910.[1] All the Christian

[1] W. H. T. Gairdner, *Edinburgh Conference*, Edinburgh, 1910, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. See also *World Missionary Conference*, Edinburgh, 1910, Official Report, 8 vols., especially Vol. VIII, *Report of Commission on Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity*.

Mission fields of the world were included, except South America. This continent was omitted on the ground that the Conference had to do only with Missions in non-Christian lands, and, technically, South America could not be so rated. This was the seventh general missionary conference in a series held in the years 1854 (May), 1854 (October), 1860, 1878, 1888, and 1900. By agreement, this conference was not to be demonstrative, but consultative, deliberative, and educational. Previous to the conference very exact information was gathered from the Mission fields, by the work of eight Commissions, which sent out extensive questionnaires.

The conference was limited in its membership. Its sessions were more or less closed to the public, both by choice and because of lack of auditorium facilities. Each denomination had one delegate to the first $10,000 spent annually in foreign missions, and one additional delegate for each additional $20,000 spent. This provided for about eleven hundred delegates. In addition, one hundred places were filled by British, American, and Continental Executives. Lord Balfour was the President, and Robert E. Speer presided when the Commissions' Reports were received and discussed. The material of these Reports, having been well formulated, was published in eight volumes, one for each Report. The eight Commissions were as follows: I. Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World; II. The Church in the Mission Field; III. Education in Relation to the Christianization of National Life; IV. The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions; V. The Preparation of Missionaries; VI. The Home Base of Missions; VII. Missions and Governments; VIII. Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity.

The officers of this latter Commission were: Chairman, Sir A. H. L. Fraser; Vice-Chairman, Mr. Silas McBee, of New York. The published Report of this Commission is exceedingly valuable to all students of Christian co-operation and unity. The Conference, through this Commission, as well as through its investigations as a whole, revealed not only the magnitude of the Comity, Co-operation, Federation, and Unity Movements on the mission fields, but also the demand that these movements be continued and extended both in foreign and home lands. From the practical standpoint, that which was Edinburgh's greatest achievement was the creation of a Continuation Committee, with such men as John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, and J. H. Oldham as leading members.

(3) THE EDINBURGH CONFERENCE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE

Almost all the great interdenominational conferences that have been held in recent years have sought to further their work by the appointment of Continuation Committees. While such Committees of the still more recent Conferences have not had the same amount of time for the performance of their work as that of the Edinburgh Conference, yet it is true that the latter's Committee, in the providence

of God, has probably been, and continues to be, far more influential in shaping the major policies of Christendom than any other single officially constituted ecclesiastical group.

The Edinburgh Conference made Dr. John R. Mott, a layman of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, the Chairman of its Continuation Committee. This Committee met in Edinburgh immediately following the Conference, and on each of the three succeeding years as follows: in 1911, at Auckland Castle, the seat of the Bishop of Durham; in 1912, at Lake Mohonk, N.Y.; and in 1913, at the Hague. This Committee assembled groups of missionary leaders in Europe, Great Britain, and North America, who discussed the problems of special urgency that had arisen out of the Edinburgh Conference. They succeeded in making arrangements for financial co-operation amongst the Foreign Boards, and they launched *The International Review of Missions*.[1]

In the autumn of 1912 Dr. Mott, as Chairman of the Continuation Committee, began a series of twenty-one conferences in Asia. During November and December, provincial conferences for India were held in Colombo, Madras, Bombay, Jubbulpore, Allahabad, Lahore, and Calcutta. The culmination of this tour came at the All-India National Conference in Calcutta before Christmas of that year, with sixty delegates present. Then followed conferences at Rangoon and Singapore in the early part of 1913. At the Calcutta Conference, it was recommended that Churches of similar ecclesiastical order should unite, that Churches which already enjoy intercommunion should enter into organic union, and that a National Council of Churches should be formed in accordance with plans which the Continuation Committee of the Calcutta conference should devise should this Committee deem such a Council necessary.

The Edinburgh Committee, continuing its work in Asia, held six regional conferences in China in 1913, at Canton, Shanghai, Tsinanfu, Peking, and Hankow, coming to a climax in the All-China National Conference held at Shanghai in March, with one hundred fifteen delegates present. Then followed conferences at Mukden, Manchuria, and at Seoul, Korea. In Japan Dr. Mott first met with a gathering of missionaries, then with a select group of Japanese leaders, and finally with a Japanese National Conference at Tokyo in April. The first concrete result of the great national gatherings was the formation of the National Missionary Council in India, of the China Continuation Committee, and of the Continuation Committee in Japan. The former was organized on a basis that was directly representative of the Missions, and the Rev. Herbert Anderson was made part-time secretary. This Council, or Committee, met for the first time in February, 1914. The China Continuation Committee, by its Constitution, had not less than one-third of its membership Chinese. Its first secretaries were the Rev. E. C. Lobenstein, and Dr. C. Y. Cheng. This Committee was not directly representative of the Chinese Missions, but by its second meeting, which took place in May, 1915, it had a National Secretary, and was performing great service in many departments of

[1] At first published in Edinburgh, now in London.

missionary activity. The Continuation Committee of Japan, as first constituted, was made up of fifteen members appointed by the Federation of Missions, fifteen appointed by the Federation of Churches —both of the foregoing being already existing bodies—and fifteen additional members co-opted by the thirty appointed members. This Committee of forty-five inaugurated a nation-wide evangelistic campaign.

In Great Britain and Ireland the follow-up work of the Edinburgh Conference consisted first in holding a National Conference at Swanwick, Derbyshire, in June, 1912, with forty-three missionary organizations represented.

So far as the Continent of Europe was concerned, organized missionary co-operation began there in a conference held at Basle in 1837 by representatives from several German Societies and from the Paris Mission. In Germany General Missionary Conferences were held in 1846 and 1847. The Continental Missionary Conference, which has had a very good influence in the creation of good-will among the Continental Societies, first assembled in 1866. In 1885, because of the increasing demand for Christian missions in Germany's multiplied colonies, there arose a demand for closer co-operation, and the German *Missionsausschuss* was organized. Miss G. A. Gollock is the authority for saying that the latter " led the way for the formation of national conferences first in North America and then in other lands. Its members and the group of men associated with them contributed largely to the work of the Continuation Committee "[1] of Edinburgh up until the outbreak of the World War.

Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, in carrying on the work of Edinburgh, either started general missionary magazines or organized National Missionary Councils. At the outbreak of the War in 1914 the Edinburgh Committee was about to assemble for its fifth meeting at Oxford, England. During the period of the Great War strenuous efforts were made to keep the German Mission Stations intact, so that they might be returned to their originators at the close of that conflict.

In June, 1920, the first international post-war missionary conference was held at the château of Crans, on the shores of Lake Geneva. At this conference there were delegates from Missionary organizations in North America, South America, France, Great Britain, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Germany. Here the formation of an International Missionary Council was proposed. This proposal was later approved by the Churches interested, and the first International Missionary Council met at Lake Mohonk, N.Y., in October, 1921. There the Council completed its organization, and elected officers as follows: Chairman, John R. Mott; Secretaries, J. H. Oldham, A. L. Warnshuis; Treasurer, James M. Speers. No German leaders were present at this meeting. India, China, and Japan were represented. The Council met again at Oxford in July, 1923. To this Conference the German Missions sent official representatives. Here, after much discussion and prayer, an agreement was arrived

[1] Article, " Fifteen Years' Growth: A Study in Missionary Co-operation," *The International Review of Missions*, Edinburgh House, Sloane Square, London, Jan., 1926. Art. by Miss G. A. Gollock.

at as to the possibility of missionary co-operation in the face of doctrinal difference. That agreement was as follows:—[1]

"The International Missionary Council has never sought, nor is it its function, to work out a body of doctrinal opinions of its own. The only doctrinal opinions in the Council are those which the various members bring with them into it from the Churches and missionary boards to which they belong. It is no part of the duty of the Council to discuss the merits of those opinions, still less to determine doctrinal questions. But it has never been found in practice that in consequence of this the Council is left with nothing but an uncertain mass of conflicting opinions. . . . When we have been gathered together we have experienced a growing unity among ourselves in which we recognize the influence of the Holy Spirit. . . . Every piece of co-operation in work which this Council or any Council connected with it encourages or guides, is confined to those Churches or missions which freely and willingly take part in it. It would be entirely out of harmony with the spirit of our movement to press for such co-operation in work as would be felt to compromise doctrinal principles or strain consciences."

As a direct result of the organization of the International Missionary Council the National Missionary Council of India changed its name to that of "The National Christian Council" in 1921–1922, and changed its nature at the same time by making itself to be as much related to the Indian Churches as to the Foreign Mission Boards. A similar change took place in China, when, at a Conference in Shanghai in May, 1922, they organized the National Christian Council of China, with a membership which must be more than half Chinese. In the same year Japan changed its Continuation Committee into the National Christian Council, into which the Federation of Churches was soon merged.

Dr. Mott presided over regional conferences among Moslem workers in Constantine, Algeria, at Helouan, near Cairo, and at Brummana, not far from Beirut. These three Conferences came to a climax in a gathering of eighty missionary leaders and a few representatives of Home Boards at Jerusalem. Here steps were taken for the formation of a Christian Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa. In the Congo region of Africa the first interdenominational missionary conference was held in 1902. In 1911 the Congo Protestant Council was organized. Since 1904 the Missions of South Africa have carried on works of co-operation through their General Missionary Conference. The history of co-operation and federation in East Africa is studied under the subject of the Kikuyu Conferences, with their antecedents[2].

In Germany to-day, the German *Ausschuss* referred to above constituted the nucleus of the German Evangelical Missionary Union organized in 1922. The North American Missionary Conference, beginning in 1915, set about to establish a great union missionary research library at its headquarters. In 1920 this Conference made Mr. Fenell P. Turner its full-time secretary. In the same year the British Missionary Conference established headquarters for itself, and

[1] G. A. Gollock, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
[2] See p. 258 *ff.*

elected Mr. Kenneth Maclennan, one of the secretaries of the Edinburgh Conference and of its Continuation Committee, as its permanent secretary.

(4) SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCES

The first South African General Christian Conference met at Johannesburg in 1904. One hundred and four delegates from twenty-four different Societies sat in session for eight days. "Comity" was the chief topic of discussion. The Second General Conference met in the same city in 1906. At this Assembly there were ninety-four representatives from nineteen Societies and missionary co-operation was the problem most considered. The third of these Conferences was held at Bloemfontein in 1909. At its six days' session seventy-five members were in attendance, representing twenty religious bodies.

(5) KIKUYU WITH THE ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENTS

The Kikuyu Conference of 1913[1] cannot be properly understood except as it is studied in connection with certain events both preceding and following it. In January, 1908, a purely local missionary conference was held at Kavirondo, on the north-east shores of Lake Victoria-Nyanza. Among the subjects discussed were a common policy regarding language problems, the unification of native dialects, a common method of spelling, and the same names for "God," "Spirit," "soul," etc. In January, 1909, a second conference was held, which marked an advance, in that ecclesiastical questions were considered. It was attended by missionaries outside Kavirondo, especially Dr. H. E. Scott, Superintendent of the Scottish Mission at Kikuyu. They passed the following resolution: "That this Conference regard the development, organization, and establishment of a united self-governing, self-supporting, and self-extending native Church as the ideal of our missionary work." A third conference was held at Nairobi in June, 1909. To it all the Protestant missionaries working in British East Africa were invited.[2] The Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland Mission, the Africa Inland Mission, and one other Mission, endorsed and adopted the resolution of the

[1] *Kikuyu*, The Archbishop of Canterbury, Macmillan & Co., Easter, 1915.
The Kikuyu Conference—A Study in Christian Unity, J. J. Willis, Bishop of Uganda, Longmans Green, 1914.
Step Toward Re-union—A Statement for the Consultative Committee, W. G. Peel, Bishop of Mombasa, and J. J. Willis, Bishop of Uganda, 1914. Eugene Stock, "Kikuyu Rediviva," article in *The Constructive Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 26, June, 1919.
Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar, H. Maynard Smith.

[2] Bishops W. E. Peel and J. J. Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 21 *ff.*

January conference, and appointed a sub-committee to work out the practical side of a policy of unity. This latter committee was composed of the Right Rev. J. J. Willis, Bishop of Uganda ; the Rev. Dr. H. E. Scott ; the Rev. C. E. Hurlburt, Africa Inland Mission ; and Mr. A. A. Chilson, of the Friends' Africa Industrial Mission. They met at Kijabe, the headquarters of the Africa Inland Mission, in October, 1909. After due consideration, they concluded that reunion in the near future was impracticable, and they therefore planned a Scheme of Federation.

A fourth conference met at Nairobi in January, 1910. They had for their consideration the proposals of the sub-committee as regarding Federation. At this same place, in February, 1911, a fifth conference was held, at which the replies from the home authorities of the Missions in British East Africa were considered. The conference ended in a deadlock, no agreements seemingly being possible.

The next conference was the famous one held at Kikuyu, beginning June 7th, 1913. The following denominations or bodies were represented at this gathering : Church of England, Church of Scotland, United Methodists, Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists, Friends' Industrial Mission, and the Africa Inland Mission. Bishop Willis of Uganda presided, with Bishop Peel of Mombasa prominent in the discussions. Without a dissenting vote the conference adopted the following resolution : " With a view to the ultimate union of the native Churches, a federation of missionary societies shall be formed. The basis of the federation shall consist in : (1) The loyal acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith and practice ; of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as a general expression of fundamental Christian belief ; and, in particular, belief in the absolute authority of the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God ; in the Deity of Jesus Christ ; and in the atoning death of our Lord as the ground for our forgiveness. (2) Recognition of common membership between the Churches in the federation. (3) Regular administration of the two sacraments by outward signs. (4) A common form of Church organization." They tentatively decided on a Book of Common Prayer, and on a division of territory. Baptism was to be either by affusion or immersion. Conditions for the standardizing of probationary requirements were adopted. The Anglicans agreed to allow ministers of the other Churches to preach in their pulpits, though they were not to administer the sacraments. At the close of the conference a union communion service was held in the Church of Scotland Mission, and was administered by Bishop Peel, assisted by the Rev. J. E. Hamshere, of the Church Missionary Society (Anglican).

Because of this union Communion service, Frank Weston, the Bishop of Zanzibar, brought charges of heresy against the two Bishops, which charges came to the attention of the Archbishop of Canterbury just at the outbreak of the World War.[1] On February 9th, 1914, the Archbishop refused the Bishop of Zanzibar his appeal for the trial of these Bishops thus charged with " propagating heresy and committing schism." He referred the matter to the Consultative Body, which

[1] The letter with the charges was dated Sept. 30th, 1913.

gave answer on August 1st, 1914. Because of the World War's beginning just at that time, the Archbishop did not give his final answer until 1915. He indorsed the findings of the Consultative Body, quoted the Lambeth Conferences' pronouncements on unity, and finally said there would be no objection to recognized ministers of their own Churches preaching in other Federated Churches ; that those baptized elsewhere should be admitted to the Anglican Communion services ; but that Anglicans are not to communicate elsewhere on the ground that the three-fold ministry alone is " regular." He carefully avoided saying that the other types of ministry were invalid.

Although the Conference of 1913 had aroused so much controversy, and had resulted in a decision on the part of the Church of England, speaking through the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was severely criticized by representatives of the evangelical Churches, the missionary workers of East Africa were not discouraged. In July, 1918, one hundred of their leading workers assembled again at Kikuyu. Bishop Peel having died, the Right Rev. Dr. R. Heywood was now Bishop of Mombasa. Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar, who had brought the charges against Bishops Peel and Willis, was himself present. Bishop Willis of Uganda presided. The Rev. R. T. Worthington, of the United Methodist Church Mission, acted as secretary. Proposals were made to form an Alliance. They agreed " To recognize the status of every Christian which is assigned to him by the branch of the Church of Christ to which he belongs."[1] To this agreement they subjoined four notes as follows : (1) This refers to the position of the catechumen, or of a baptized or communicant member of some branch of the Church of Christ, in connection with the allied societies ; (2) While earnestly desiring such a measure of unity that full intercommunion between the members of the allied missions may become possible, we recognize that in existing conditions such intercommunion between Episcopal and non-Episcopal missions is not yet possible ; (3) The Bishops of the two dioceses concerned in the Alliance realize the dangers to which native converts are exposed through isolation. They deeply regret that it is impossible in the present circumstances to bid the members of their Church to seek the Holy Communion at the hands of ministers not Episcopally ordained. But they will be grateful for such spiritual help as it may be possible for other missions to give those who may be, for the time, isolated from the ministration of their own Church ; (4) The responsible authorities of the allied missions will welcome as guests to their communions any communicant member of the allied missions for whom the ministrations of his own Church are, for the time, inaccessible, and as to whose moral and spiritual fitness they are satisfied, provided always no obligation shall rest on any such member to avail himself of this liberty.[2]

A proposed Constitution for the Alliance was adopted by the following four societies, subject to the approval of their home Boards : The Church Missionary Society, the Established Church of Scotland,

[1] Eugene Stock, *op. cit.*
[2] *Idem.*

the United Methodist Church, and the African Inland Mission (an interdenominational body with bases in both the United States and Great Britain). The British and Foreign Bible Society, through its agent, Mr. Roome, gave its endorsement. Four of the smaller Missions, including the Friends, were invited to conform " as far as possible."[1]

It is interesting to note that Bishop Frank of Zanzibar, to whom great courtesy was shown at this Conference, brought in proposals for a definitely united Church.[2] His proposals involved the acceptance of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, and suggested that the Bishops should be freely elected, that the non-Episcopal bodies accepting Episcopacy would remain in the full exercise of their own Constitutions, working parallel with the present Episcopal Churches. He also proposed that, in the union which he suggested, they should accept the principle of Sacramental Grace ; the Sacraments to be used by all ; the liberty for Christians to use other rites which the Bishop may call sacraments ; the principle of Church Discipline and Absolution ; the principle of Corporate Worship, each body using the form and matter of Baptism and a valid form of Consecration of the Sacrament of the Holy Communion. Mr. Roome reports[3] that the Bishop of Zanzibar assured the non-Episcopal clergymen that if they would consent to some form of Episcopal consecration or ordination, so as to enable them to minister in Episcopal Churches when invited, he would gladly come before their Churches and accept any form of popular recognition. The Bishop of Zanzibar's proposals could not be accepted, but the Basis of Alliance was adopted as being the best possible arrangement under the circumstances. No communion service was held at the close of this conference. Dr. Eugene Stock asks[4] the question why a Presbyterian Church is not just as good as a native hut or the deck of an ocean liner for the holding of a Communion Service by the clergy of the Anglican Church. The non-Episcopal missionaries present stood ready, as at the conference of 1913, to show the utmost courtesy and receive the Communion at the hands of the Anglican Bishops present. The Archbishop of Canterbury had ruled that non-Episcopal Church members might be allowed to communicate at Anglican altars, the reverse being disallowed. Nevertheless, the 1918 Kikuyu Conference adjourned without any Communion Service.

Under the auspices of the Alliance thus formed in 1918, a Missionary College was planned in October, 1919, as a headquarters for the training of ministers, teachers, and doctors. In January, 1922, a very important conference under the direction of the Alliance was held for the purpose of extending union missionary activity and of increasing their efficiency. It was at this conference that they adopted a special resolution expressing strongly the conviction " that it is their insistent duty to endeavour to the utmost to remove the disabilities which are to a large extent preventing the formation of a United Church in Kenya Colony and Protectorate, especially among the native

[1] Eugene Stock, *op. cit.*

[2] *Kikuyu*, 1894–1923. Semi-Jubilee Book of the Church of Scotland Mission—Kenya Colony. Foreword by John Oxenham, p. 95.

[3] *Like of Faith*, Oct. 9th, 1818.

[4] *Op. cit.*

Christians. . . . As a definite and decisive step in this direction, they would urge that all future ordinations of African ministers of the various Churches accepting the Basis of the Alliance should be represented by those authorized to ordain in the various Churches, who should participate in the actual ordination, so that all African ministers so ordained would be fully recognized as ministers in all the Churches concerned."[1]

(6) CHINA'S CHRISTIAN UNITY MOVEMENTS OF THE PRESENT CENTURY

In China, more than in any other mission field, we find the hastening of a national unified Christian Church due to the growing aversion to every sort of foreign interference or domination. The Christian " foreign " missionaries in China have been handicapped by being compelled to suffer because of many un-Christian things that have been perpetrated upon China by the so-called Christian nations. A thorough discussion of these matters cannot be engaged in here. It is for us to record the various events in which Christian unity is involved. For the most part, the missionary forces of China have sought to co-operate in assisting the Chinese Christians to found an indigenous national Church. Let us take up the narrative where we left off in a previous chapter, and trace the progress of events up to the present time.

In 1899 the Advisory Board of West China was formed at the Chungking Conference with the China Inland Mission, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the American Baptist Missionary Union, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Canadian Methodist Mission, the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association, the Methodist Episcopal Mission, the Foreign Christian Mission, and the Y.M.C.A. co-operating.

After certain preliminary negotiations, there was consummated in 1905 an organic union of the Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church in England, the United Free Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterians of the China Inland Mission. Six autonomous Synods were formed. The Union was called the Presbyterian Church of Christ in China.[2] The Resolutions of Union state that " the several Churches which we represent agree in holding the Word of God as contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the supreme rule of faith and life." It was agreed that the distinctive subordinate standards, such as the Westminster Confession, adopted by the different contracting parties, should not be binding on the others ; but that they should be adhered to by the parties adopting them, until such time as the Presbyterian Church of

[1] *Kikuyu*, 1898–1923, Semi-Jubilee Book, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–96.

[2] Vol. VII, *Report of Commission on Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity*, Official Report of the Edinburgh Conference, *op. cit.* In this " Report " are to be found many details with regard to unity movements on the mission fields previous to 1910.

Christ in China, in the exercise of its autonomy, should formulate standards of its own."

A local union of the English Baptists and the American Presbyterians was accomplished in Tsinan-fu, China, in 1906. This was made permanent in 1911. In 1907 the Centenary Missionary Conference was held in Shanghai. Five hundred delegates from sixty-three Societies were present. The session lasted four days. Comity and Federation were the chief topics of discussion. One of the resolutions passed stated, " In planting the Church of Christ on Chinese soil, we desire only to plant one Church." Plans were made for the formation of an all-China Christian Federation, with provisions for local Councils in smaller areas. In the same year, the National Council of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of China adopted a declaration expressing a desire that " all branches of the Church of Christ in China may ultimately come together," and we " aim at Presbyterian union in no exclusive sense, but as the first step within our power."

In 1908, after certain preliminary conferences, the High Church Anglicans and the American Presbyterians entered into a union arrangement at Shantung University. The Anglicans insisted on having their own Chaplain. This being primarily a Presbyterian institution, the local authorities made some objections to the Anglican stipulations. But word from the New York Presbyterian Headquarters caused accedence to the High Church demands, though there was union in every other respect. This action was quite a precedent in Church annals.[1]

Home base response and co-operation with these unity activities in China took a tangible form on February 29th, 1912, when seventy-five representatives of twenty-six North American Mission Boards which have work in China met in conference in New York City. Resolutions were passed expressing approval of the movement to unite the Christian Churches in China, and promising to the Missions their hearty support. They hoped for union in all forms of mission work. They approved the development of the Church of Christ in China, recognizing that this Chinese Church must hold the central place in China's evangelization. Thus the Christian Churches had definite assurance that, should they enter into union, they would not thereby lose the support of the denominational Boards under whose auspices they had come into existence.

The China National Christian Conference of March, 1913, held in Shanghai under the auspices of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee, which led to the formation of the China Continuation Committee, and, in 1922, to the organization of the National Christian Council, has been noted in connection with the review of the work of the Edinburgh Committee, led by Dr. Mott. The Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the American Bible Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, have each made inestimable contributions to the unification of

[1] Dr. A. J. Brown, one of the presidents of the Stockholm Conference and a prominent Presbyterian leader in Ecumenical Christendom, makes much of this precedent in his very valuable work, *Unity and Missions*, Fleming H. Revell, 1915, pp. 216–235.

China's Christian forces, especially the Y.M.C.A. This is equally true with regard to Japan, India, and the other Oriental mission fields.

The slaughter of the Chinese by foreign police, or their paid representatives, in Shanghai and Canton in 1924 proved to be the match which set off the restrained explosives of Chinese wrath against the foreigners within that land. Settlement for these and many other outrages not having been satisfactorily made, the presence of the foreigners became all the more unbearable. Unequal treaties involving extra-territoriality rights, galled the Chinese, who believed that all such things were entirely repugnant to their national self-respect. Hence open and armed defiance against the foreigners came to a head in 1927. To make this confusion confounded, China was torn, at the same time, with civil warfare, and had no responsible government to cope with the situation.

In the midst of these increasing difficulties, the foreign missionaries, many of whom were compelled to flee, showed, in most instances, the greatest sympathy with the Chinese cause. Accordingly, the Chinese who have control of much of the mission property, and who are having more and more of their own Christian leaders, by the advice and hearty co-operation of the foreign Christians in positions of leadership, are showing a discriminating appreciation of those Christians from other lands whose presence in their midst has no connection with ulterior motives. The missionaries still remaining are giving all possible freedom to the Chinese to form a Christian Church that shall be indigenous and locally controlled.

The Chinese Christian leaders are taking advantage of their liberties. On October 2nd, 1927, in a conference held in Shanghai, with ninety-four delegates present, it was voted to dissolve all former ecclesiastical connections and form the "Church of Christ in China." Sixteen denominations are said to have been represented, with the Presbyterians and Congregationalist predominating. Dr. Cheng Ching-yi, Secretary of the Chinese National Christian Council, was elected the Moderator of the new Church. It is said that this Church includes one thousand congregations in sixteen provinces, in which twelve hundred missionaries have been working. Into this United Church, Churches connected with the "London Mission," the Fukien American Board Mission, the English Baptists, and all but a very few of the Presbyterians, entered. Of the total membership, 75% is Presbyterian, the rest Congregational, as to polity. The missionaries affiliated therewith are one-third British and two-thirds American. Of the Chinese members in this union fifty-eight per cent. are connected with American missionary societies.[1] Into this union the Methodist Episcopal Churches and certain other groups, by the decision of their own native leaders, are not now planning to enter for the present, at least. There are many who believe that China will finally readjust her ecclesiastical situation, so that hers will be

[1] *The Christian Century*, Chicago, October 20th, 1927. See also an article by Frank Rawlinson, editor of the *Chinese Recorder*, appearing in the April 19th, 1928, number of the former journal, p. 505 *ff.*

quite like that of Japan to-day, wherein there is the maximum of local union and control with the foreign missionaries present as co-workers.

(7) TWENTIETH-CENTURY PROGRESS OF CHRISTIAN UNITY IN JAPAN

Professor S. Yamamoto, writing on "The Beginning of the Japanese Church as an Institution,"[1] indicates that from the modern beginning of Christian work in Japan (1872), the idea within the minds of the missionaries and Japanese Christians alike was that there should be "one Christian Church for the whole of Japan." At the first conference of Protestant Missionaries, held in 1872, they passed a resolution to the effect that their constant aim would be to seek for a Church with "identity of name and organization."[2] As the spirit of unity progressed, the Japanese became disinterested in Western Confessions, and adopted in many Churches the credal statements of the Nine Articles of the Evangelical Alliance.[3] We have noted that in 1877 the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches united to form the Church of Christ in Japan. In 1904 the General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of the Methodist Church of Canada, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, formulated plans for the union of the Methodist Churches in Japan, appointing a joint Commission to take action. This union was consummated in May, 1907. The newly-formed Japan Methodist Church adopted its own Articles of Religion, ritual and discipline, and its own Episcopal head, Bishop Yoitsu Honda, for a period of four years. The present Bishop is the Rev. Kogoro Uzaki, who has just been re-elected for a third term of four years. In Korea all the Presbyterian Churches united to form an independent Presbyterian Church in 1907.

Christianity in Japan has been passing through the same stages of progress toward general federal unity, as have been experienced in the other lands already noted. First, there is an association of the individual members of various Churches with no official authority, then an association or federation of the Church bodies which is purely advisory, with no power over the internal affairs of the constituent Churches, and finally, for the present, at least, a Federal or National Church which is duly constituted as an ecclesiastical body with certain especially delegated powers to take actions which do involve the autonomy and internal life of the denominations thus federated.

The first step in this evolutionary process, so far as Japan is concerned, came in 1872. The second step was taken in 1902, when "The Federation of the Christian Missions in Japan" was organized, and which to-day is composed of thirty-two Missions, two of which are in Formosa. According to Article III of its Constitution, dealing with

[1] *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, and Formosa. A Year Book of Christian Work.* Published by the Federation of Christian Missions in Japan, 1926. Printed by the *Japan Times and Mail*, Tokyo, p. 33 *ff.*

[2] See p. 125. [3] See p. 184.

its " Powers," " The Federation may confer, investigate, give counsel, and take other action in matters of common concern to the Missions represented in it ; it may also undertake such co-operative work as may be agreed upon by the constituent bodies ; but no action may be taken affecting the independence of the Missions represented or dealing with ecclesiastical principles, or questions of Christian doctrine."

The accomplishments of this " Federation of Christian Missions " have been valuable and far-reaching. Besides fostering co-operation, education and exchange of ideas, it has created and maintained the Christian Literature Society ; the publication called at first *The Japan Evangelist*, now termed *The Japan Christian Quarterly* ; has carried on newspaper evangelism ; and, above all, has indicated to the Japanese that the Christian bodies active in their nation can be unified.

The third step towards greater federal unity was taken in May, 1922, when there was held in Tokyo an important conference of the representatives of the Missions. The Edinburgh Continuation Committee, in this instance, as in that of India and China, played a most important part in calling and organizing this conference, which led directly to the organization of the National Christian Council in November, 1923. The Japan Federation of Churches, which had been in existence since 1912, was now entirely supplanted by the New Council. Many of the functions and duties of the Federation of Christian Missions were assumed by this Council. Gradually it is taking over still more of its work, as, *e.g.*, the publication of *The Japan Christian Quarterly*. Bishop Uzaki was elected the first President of this Council. He states that there are at least four objects for which the Council should strive : " the cultivation of fellowship among the different denominations ; co-operation on the evangelistic field ; the investigation for the furtherance of Christian social movements ; and encouragement of the tendency towards Church union."[1]

(8) EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN UNITY IN LATIN AMERICA

The first instance of change from strictly denominational to interdenominational control in the history of the evangelical mission in South America was in 1895, when Mackenzie College at Sao Paulo was transferred from purely Presbyterian supervision to that of an interdenominational Board of Trustees. In March, 1923, a union Christian conference was held at Caracas, Venezuela. Here a proposal was made to establish one Evangelical Christian Church in Venezuela. In the same year, in Rio de Janeiro, an interdenominational Evangelical Congress met, which included five denominations. They arranged for the publication of union Sunday School literature, and for the holding of union Summer Conferences.

As we noted in connection with the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, South America, which could not technically be rated as a non-Christian

[1] *The Christian Movement in Japan*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 128 *ff.*, article by Bishop Uzaki.

land, did not come within the purview of that historic gathering. This omission at that time has since been more than made up. In March, 1913, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, through its Committee of Reference and Counsel, made arrangements for a special conference on Latin America, which was held in New York.[1] This was attended by representatives of thirty different organizations, including Mission Board Secretaries and furloughed missionaries from Latin America. This conference made all possible arrangements to secure co-operation among the Boards carrying on Mission work in South America. A small committee, with Robert E. Speer as the Chairman, was named to study the whole subject. This ultimately led to the Panama Congress on Christian Work in Latin America, in February, 1916. At the time of this Congress, aside from Porto Rico, and a plan on paper for Mexico, there were practically no interdenominational committees, schools, presses, or other movements in all Latin America. At this Panama Congress the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America was organized.

Under the auspices of this Committee the noted Congress on Christian Work in South America met at Montevideo, Uruguay, on April 19th, 1925. In preparation for this assembly twelve important Commissions were appointed to make extended investigations and bring in reports. In this respect the plan resembled that of the Edinburgh Conference. The twelve Commissions thus created were as follows: Unoccupied Fields; The Indians from South America; Education; Evangelism; Social Movements; Medical Missions and Health Ministry; The Churches and the Community; Religious Education; Literature; Relations between Foreign and National Workers; Special Religious Problems; and Co-operation and Unity. The Congress agreed on fifteen important findings, which may be summarized as follows: that they would ceaselessly seek the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of love; that they would unitedly use the "Week of Prayer," and would explain and illustrate the duty and value of co-operation in the Church press; that they would urgently seek the appointment of a full-time Secretary of Co-operation for Spanish South America; that they would take steps to secure a Common Evangelical Spanish Hymnal for South America; that they would urge the development of higher-grade union Seminaries wherever possible, on an international basis; that certain fields call for co-operative work, such as work among the Indians, medical and agricultural work, and the approach to students and the professional classes; that they would encourage the creation of centres for co-operative publication, and the maintenance of union book stores, common periodicals, and the co-operative production of Biblical maps; and they advised that "the Churches should be known under a common name, the denominational name being placed in parenthesis following, so that, *e.g.*, the name would read, "The Evangelical Church

[1] Robert E. Speer, Samuel G. Inman, and Frank K. Sanders, editors, *Christian Work in South America*. Official Report of the Congress on Christian Work in South America, at Montevideo, Uruguay, April, 1925. 2 vols., 1925. Fleming H. Revell. See especially Vol. 2, p. 381 *ff.*, for The Report of Commission Twelve on Co-operation and Unity.

of Brazil (Methodist), etc. The Report of this Congress as published in two volumes, is a distinct contribution in the field of modern missionary activity as in relation to Christian co-operation and unity.[1]

(9) APPROACHES TOWARD AN ALL-INDIA UNITED CHURCH, 1900–1928

The Third South India Union Conference was held at Madras in 1900. One hundred and forty-eight delegates from twenty-four different religious groups were in session for four days. As in similar conferences in other mission fields, the topics for discussion were Comity and Co-operation. The Fourth Indian Decennial Conference also met at Madras two years later, with two hundred eighty-six delegated members from fifty-five different societies. They continued in session eight days, and here, again, Comity was an important subject on the program.

Seven of the Presbyterian bodies in India entered into an organic union at Allahabad in 1904. The United Presbyterian Church of America and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists did not enter into this agreement. In 1906, at Serampore, the seat of William Carey's pioneer work, a large number of Indian Christians met to form "The Indian Christian Missionary Society." Members of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Congregational, Methodist Churches, joined in this pioneer effort to make India itself a centre from whence missionaries should go forth. On invitation of the Union Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., a conference was held at Jubbulpore in April, 1909, at which a Joint Committee was formed to promote a federation of the Christian Churches in India.[2] The following Churches were represented: The Presbyterian Church in India, the South India United Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Friends' Mission, the Christian Mission, the American Marathi Mission, and the Christian Missionary Alliance. The scheme of federation was quite similar to that adopted in China following the Centenary Conference in Shanghai in 1907. But there was the important difference that in India they attempted a definite ecclesiastical basis for the proposed federation. This basis included an evangelical creed, and the "recognition of the validity of each other's ordinances, ministry, membership, and discipline, without thereby committing themselves to the approval of particular methods or practices."[3] The resolutions calling for this Federation were adopted by the General Assembly of the South India United Church, and by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India. The Anglicans, Baptists, and Lutherans held aloof. In 1912, as we have already noted, several regional conferences culminating in an all-India Conference at Calcutta were held, with the guidance of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee, with Dr. Mott as the Chairman.

[1] Speer, Inman, and Sanders, editors, *op. cit.*
[2] *Official Report of the Edinburgh Conference, op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 111 *ff.*
[3] *Idem*, Vol. VII, p. 111 *ff.*

All this resulted in the formation of " The National Missionary Council," which in 1921–1922 was changed into " The National Christian Council." This latter Council provides for major control by the Indian Christians, and for a fairly close federal unity.

In 1910 various denominations united in the Second[1] General Mohammedan Conference at Lucknow for consideration of their common problems in connection with work among the Moslems.

The beginnings of the present-day South India United Church, so far as the union of ecclesiastical bodies is concerned, took place in 1901. At that time the Churches of the Arcot Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in America and the Madras Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland amalgamated. In 1905 the Travancore Mission of the London Missionary Society and the Jaffa and Madura Missions of the American Board (both Congregational) effected union. All the foregoing, together with the Churches of the South Indian District Committee, combined in 1908 to form the South India United Church. In the Articles of this Union it was declared that the object was " to bind the Churches together into one body with a view to developing a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating Indian Church, which shall present a united living testimony to Christ, and worthily represent to the world the Christian ideal. In the polity of this United Church administration was provided for through the local Churches, District Councils, and a General Assembly.

On May 2nd, 1914, the Marathi Mission of the American Board, being convinced that " the basis of creed and polity in the South India United Church was a success," wrote to the Western India Mission of the Presbyterian Board proposing union in Western India " on a similar basis."

In the various religious publications of the Presbyterian and Congregational Church Missions of India in 1919 there appeared proposals for the union of these two Churches' Missions into what they hoped would be the United Church of the whole of India. As yet these proposals have not been acted upon in their entirety. There is now the North India United Church, and the South India United Church movement received further impetus. In that same year, at a meeting of ministers from almost all the Missions of South India, including clergy of the Anglican Church, negotiations began for the formation of an all-inclusive South India United Church, this union to include both the Episcopal and the non-Episcopal Communions. This, if carried to realization, will include six Scottish, English, and American Presbyterian and Congregational Missions, the Wesleyan Churches, and the Church of England in India, in so far as the foregoing are to be found in the southern part of that land.

In the present United Church of South India there are twenty-four hundred thousand members ; in the Wesleyan Church of South India, sixty thousand ; and in the Anglican Church, three hundred thousand, of whom sixty thousand are Europeans. The dioceses concerned in this proposed union are Madras, Dornakal, Tinnevelly, and Travan-

[1] The first was held at Cairo for six days in 1906, with 62 delegates present, representing 29 societies.

core. This whole agreement has proceeded to such an extent that an Enabling Act providing for the disestablishment of the Church of England in India, so that it may be free to negotiate with the other Churches without outside hindrances, was passed in 1927 by the English Parliament. As between these Churches, there is almost unanimous agreement as to how their ministries shall be made acceptable to each other, how the historic Episcopate is ultimately to be made their common polity, and how the Orders of those now ministering there are to be respected until such time as Episcopal ordination shall become the common rule. At a meeting of the representatives of all these negotiating Churches on April 4th–7th, 1923, certain resolutions were passed relative to recommissioning, intercommunion, and creeds in the proposed scheme of union.[1] Very important negotiations have been in progress since.

(10) UNION EDUCATIONAL AND MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS IN MISSION FIELDS

Of union medical and educational institutions on the mission fields there are to-day, not counting any that have been made union by the recent events in China, forty-six in China, eighteen in India, fifteen in Korea, eight each in Japan and South America, four in Africa, and lesser numbers in other fields.[2] Miss G. A. Gollock, who, with Dr. J. H. Oldham, was once an editor of the *International Review of Missions*, analyses the foregoing figures by saying that there are five main union Universities in China : Shantung Christian University at Tsinan, with fifteen Boards co-operating, seven being British ; the University of Nanking, with four American Boards in the union, one of these uniting only in part ; the West China Christian University at Chengtu, supported by four Boards, Methodists, Friends, Baptists, and Anglican ; Peking University (Yenching), with four Boards including Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalists ; and Fuhkien University, for whose running four Boards, have united. There are also union colleges at Moukden, Hangchow, and Canton, and colleges that are maintained by union effort within similar denominations, such as the Shanghai Baptist College and Soochow University. As for Theological Schools, the Anglicans, Lutherans, and Baptists have each their own union institution. In the Theological Seminaries that are a part of the union Universities the various denominations co-operate. In the Canton Union Theological College eight denominations work together. At Peking six denominations co-operated in 1906 to found the Union Medical College, three of these being British, and three American. Union medical schools are also to be found at Shanghai, in the Shantung Christian university of Tsinan, at Yenching University in Peking (for women), and in the West China Christian University at Changsha. Ginling College, near Nanking, was opened in 1915 with five American Boards co-operating fully, and two others in part. The North China Union Women's College was instituted in

[1] G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity*, Oxford Press, 1924. pp. 311–320.
[2] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1926, p. 83 *ff.*

1905 with four different Boards, three American and one British, working together.[1]

As for India, the Isabella Thoburn College of Lucknow, now the Women's department of the University of Lucknow, the South India Christian College for Women, and the Union Medical School at Villore, South India, are splendid examples of interdenominational co-operation. In Japan the one union educational institution of collegiate grade, at present, is the Women's Christian College at Tokyo. It was opened in 1918 with six American Mission Boards united in the enterprise. Several denominations co-operate in the Theological Department of Aoyma Gakuin, Tokyo.

(11) CHRISTIAN CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS IN AMERICA FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America[2] and the Home Missions Council of the United States[3] both represent the modern tendency in " home " lands to bring about close co-operation of the Church missionary headquarters that they may measure up to similar tendencies in the mission fields. The former carries on a most important co-ordinated activity representing the Foreign Mission Boards of all the major denominations of North America. The latter is the official agent of thirty-eight Home Mission Boards and Societies of the United States, representing twenty-seven denominations. It works in co-operation with the United States Council of Women for Home Missions.

The Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America was organized in 1913. It publishes the very able magazine entitled *Everyland*, the purpose of which is to cultivate the spirit of international friendship among children. This Federation has embarked on a world-wide program as with regard to unity and varied forms of Christian service for the women and children of all lands. In this way it promotes interdenominational action on the part of forty-four great National Women's Boards in North America. " Through eighteen committees this Federation promotes, with the help of city women's Church and Missionary Federations, a programme of education ; carries on, through twenty-three schools of missions, not only the study of textbooks, but the training of leadership for women, young women and children ; maintains, in addition to the seven great Women's Union Christian Colleges in the Orient, scores of high schools, Bible training schools, and normal schools."[4] In 1923 many of the leading organizations of Christian women formed themselves into the International Federation of Christian Women.

[1] All these items are given without reference to present unstable conditions.

[2] Headquarters, 25, Madison Avenue, N.Y.

[3] Headquarters, 156, Fifth Avenue, N.Y.

[4] B. S. Winchester, editor, *The Handbook of the Churches*, published by J. E. Stohlman, Baltimore, Md. 1927, p. 287.

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the Home Missions Council, the Council of Women for Home Missions, and the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, unite in publishing *The Missionary Review of the World*, an interdenominational home and foreign missionary monthly.

(12) CHRISTIAN UNITY ASSOCIATIONS

The Christian Unity Association of Scotland was instituted in January, 1904, for the purpose of promoting closer friendship among the Churches of Scotland. Its aim was stated as unity, not union, and it makes no claim to official or public position. A committee of twenty-four manage its affairs. Of these, four come from the Church of Scotland, from the United Free Church of Scotland, and from the Episcopal Church of Scotland, respectively. On December 9th, 1906, the Church Union Association of Scotland was founded at a joint conference of the Young Men's Fellowship Associations in the St. Andrews United Free Church Hall, Edinburgh. These Associations are made up of members of both the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church. The view was expressed that the task of union in that country will be best undertaken by the young men of the laity. James Scott was elected the first President. This Association has for its particular function the promotion of unity between the two Churches represented in its membership. The Christian Unity Association aims at a more inclusive unity.

The Christian Unity Foundation, " a purely voluntary and unofficial organization," was incorporated on July 10th, 1910, with twenty-four Trustees representing different types of Churchmanship within the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. The second clause of the Article of Incorporation indicates the fundamental ideas underlying this Foundation. It reads as follows : " The purpose for which this Corporation is formed : to promote Christian unity at home and throughout the world ; to this end, to gather and disseminate accurate information relative to the faith and works of all Christian bodies ; to set forth the great dangers of our unhappy divisions, and the waste of spiritual energy due thereto ; to devise and suggest practical methods of co-operation, substituting comity for rivalry in the propagation of the common faith ; to bring together all who are labouring in the same field, and this in the belief that full knowledge of one another will emphasize our actual membership in the one body of Christ, and our common agreement in the essentials of faith ; that, finally, by the operation of the Spirit of God, the various Christian bodies may be knit together in more evident unity in the essentials of faith and practice and in one organic life. ' So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.' "[1] In more recent years, other than Protestant Episcopalians are numbered among the Trustees.

The Swanwick Free Church Fellowship[2] had its beginnings at a meeting of about a dozen men at Mansfield College, Oxford, just previous to Easter, 1911. These men had arrived independently at the conviction that the Christian Churches ought to be united. At first they dreamed of a United Free Church of England, then of the Church of England, One, Free, and Catholic, and finally, The One Universal Church. At succeeding conferences specially invited friends of various Communions were also present. A Covenant of

[1] Publications issued from Headquarters, 143 East 37th Street, N.Y.

[2] Publications issued by the Hon. Sec., 13, Strensham Hill, Moseley, Birmingham.

Fellowship was adopted in August, 1912, but they sought then, and have sought since, to avoid complexities of organization. To quote from their Covenant of Fellowship, " our desire is to cultivate a new spiritual fellowship and communion with all branches of the Christian Church ; our hope is of a Free Church so steeped in the traditions and spirit of the entire Church Catholic as to be ready in due time for the re-union of Christendom. Our method of inquiry will be that of corporate prayer and thought. We shall propagate our life by prayer, by loyal service in the ordinary activities of the Church, by the publication of such literature of all kinds as may seem required, and by any other means." A number of denominational Fellowships soon followed, notably, the Anglican Fellowship in 1912. These Fellowships still continue their existence. They have succeeded in publishing several valuable pamphlets on the general subject of Christian re-union.[1] Several hundred leaders, sincerely desirous of rapprochement among the Churches, especially as between the Anglican and the Free Churches, have become members of these groups.

(13) INTERDENOMINATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE PROMOTION OF BROTHERHOOD AND PEACE

On February 10th, 1914, the Church Peace Union was founded by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, after consultation with several prominent Christian leaders. Mr. Carnegie was interested in the Commission of Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and in similar movements in England and Germany. Because of the disunited condition of the Churches, he was convinced that the project he had in mind could best be handled by an independent group of Christian leaders rather than by an ecclesiastically-constituted organization. So he called together at a luncheon men who were prominent in peace work, and asked them to act as Trustees of an endowment fund which he proposed to establish for the promotion of world peace and brotherhood. His proposal was accepted. The men thus assembled organized by the election of the following officers : President, Bishop David H. Greer ; Vice-President, Dr. William P. Merrill ; Chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. Charles E. Jefferson ; Treasurer, Mr. G. A. Plimpton ; Secretary, Dr. Frederick Lynch, who had been Secretary of the Committee on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council. Mr. Carnegie remarked, " What a wonderful thing it would be if we could bring all the Churches of the world together this year."

Under the auspices of this Union the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches[2] was organized, August

[1] See especially *Pathways to Christian Unity. A Free Church View*, by Arthur Black, G. E. Darlaston, W. E. Orchard, William Paton, J. H. Squire, Malcolm Spencer. Macmillan & Co., London, 1919.

[2] " The Church and International Relations, Parts 3 and 4, *Library of Christian Co-operation*, Vol. LII. Prepared by Sidney Gulick and Charles S. Macfarland, and published for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America by the Missionary Education Movement, New York, 1917. This volume treats of these associations at length.

1st–3rd, at an assembly especially called for the purpose at Constance, Germany. Ninety delegates were present as guests of the Church Peace Union. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America sent official representatives. It was just at this time that the World War broke forth in all its fury upon a startled world. But the World Alliance had not been organized in vain, for it was at its meeting at the Hague in September, 1919, that representative Churchmen from both the Central Powers and the Allied Nations met for the first time following the War. The next meeting of the Alliance was held at St. Beatenberg, Switzerland, in August, 1920. At this time the Constitution and the International Committee were agreed upon. This Committee is composed of one hundred twenty-five members from twenty-six different nations. The Alliance again met August 5th–12th, 1922, at Copenhagen, with two hundred fifty delegates present from twenty-five nations. Here the animosities aroused by the World War seemed to have well nigh wholly subsided. Action was taken to discourage the injection of prejudice in school text books.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation was founded in December, 1914, at a conference held in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, England. It is an association of Christians of all denominations desirous of working out a way of reconciliation and love in a world of international and social strife. This Fellowship met with Continental and American groups at Bilthoven, Holland, in 1919. Here it organized itself into an International Fellowship with branches in more than twenty countries.

Another movement arising in England, which exerts a very real influence in drawing the Churches together and in the promotion of Christian fellowship, is the World Brotherhood Federation organized in London, England, September 13th–17th, 1919. This Federation was the logical outcome on the part of those interested in the extension of the benefits of the great Sunday afternoon gatherings in England to other countries. Somewhat similar Brotherhood movements had already been in progress in the United States since the 'nineties of the last century. By all such efforts an inevitable fixing of the attention of those interested upon the Kingdom of God rather than upon any particular Church is resulting.

(14) CO-OPERATIVE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION WORLD SUNDAY SCHOOL CONVENTIONS

With the opening of the twentieth century the Sunday School found itself being elevated to the dignity of Religious Education, and its most far-seeing and most appreciative supporters seeing to it that its whole programme is placed on a correctly graded and otherwise scientific basis with trained leadership. The vast expansion of Christianity by means of an increasingly vigorous missionary crusade which came to a special climax in the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 and in the work of that Conference's Continuation Committee since, made it possible and strategic to hold three of the World Sunday

School Conventions either outside evangelical Christian countries or in a non-Christian country. The first special union step within Sunday School life in the new century was the organization in 1901 of the Sunday School Editorial Association, which in 1910 became the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations.

The fourth World Sunday School Convention was held in Jerusalem, April 17th–19th, 1904. On this occasion, there were one thousand five hundred seventy-six registered delegates, representing twenty-five countries and fifty religious denominations. This Convention, more than any that had preceded it, brought the Sunday School to the attention of the whole world. The fifth Convention was held at Rome, Italy, with one thousand one hundred eighteen delegates from sixty-six different lands. This gathering took place May 18th–23rd, 1907.

In 1910, as we noted above, the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations in the United States was organized. This was the first religious education organization which provided for the two principles, denominational autonomy in matters of Sunday School instruction and administration, and direct co-operative control, by the denomination of union activities. This Council has accomplished much in establishing definite educational standards, and in giving to the subscribing Churches the benefits of its findings.

The sixth World Sunday School Convention met at Washington, D.C. Besides thousands of visitors, there were twenty-five hundred delegates registered, making this the largest of the series of these world gatherings. This took place May 19th–24th, 1910. The seventh was held at Zürich, Switzerland, July 8th–15th, 1913, with two thousand six hundred nine delegates, including two hundred twenty-one missionaries. These represented seventy-five different communions and fifty-one countries. The eighth of these great World Conventions of the leaders of religious education took place October 5th–14th, 1920, at Tokyo, Japan. Here assembled 1,814 accredited delegates, representing seventeen countries of five continents. The Japanese raised $140,000 to entertain the Convention, which was practically regarded as the nation's guest. The main achievements of this assembly were the formation of new Associations in Australia, New Zealand, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Ceylon, and the reorganization of the work in India.[1]

In July, 1928, at Los Angeles, California, the tenth World Sunday School Convention was held, the ninth session having taken place at Glasgow, Scotland, in 1924. Every such a world gathering of Christian leaders, especially of those who lead in the instruction of the young, means distinct progress in bridging the chasms which divide the followers of Christ.

[1] C. S. Macfarland, *International Christian Movements*, Fleming H. Revell, 1924, p. 54 *ff*.

MODERN CHURCH FEDERATION

" This is my commandment that ye love one another, even as I have loved you."
—S. John, xv, 12.

" For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, even in this ; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."
—Galatians, v, 14.

" But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three ; and the greatest of these is love."
—I Corinthians, xiii, 13.

" It is the duty of the Churches which adorn themselves with the sacred name of Christ not to forget and neglect any longer His new and great commandment of love, and still to fall piteously behind the political authorities, who, truly applying the spirit of the Gospel and of the Justice of Christ, have under happy auspices already instituted the League of Nations."
—From the Encyclical Letter of 1920 of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

CHAPTER VII

Modern Church Federation for Christian Service

(1) FEDERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

To make a correct historic appraisal of all the movements that were antecedents, and to give due credit to all the individuals whose achievements were a preparation for the founding of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at Philadelphia in 1908 is a very difficult task. Federation of Churches, as such, into a close union for Christian service had its first official beginnings in the United States in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches of England held its first meeting in 1892. This was the first occasion of the federation of individual Church members, but it was not a federation of the Churches thus represented. It was not until 1917 that England formed a federation of Churches, as such, the Federal Council in England of the Evangelical Free Churches being then organized.

In the United States, Dr. S. S. Schmucker, President of the Lutheran General Synod Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, who issued his historic *Fraternal Appeal*[1] in 1838, and his *Overture for Christian Union* in 1845; Dr. Philip Schaff, the Reformed and Presbyterian author and Church historian of the Union Theological Seminary; Dr. Stephen Olin, the President, and Dr. William North Rice, a Professor, of Wesleyan University; Dr. William Hayes Ward, editor of *The Independent*; Dr. Josiah Strong, once General Secretary of the American Evangelical Alliance; Dr. William Patton, Dr. Lyman Beecher, Bishop Eugene R. Hendrix, Dr. William H. Roberts, Mr. William E. Dodge, Mr. John S. Huyler, Dr. E. Talmadge Root, Dr. Frank Mason North, Dr. Charles L. Thompson, and President Theodore Roosevelt, are all named by Dr. Elias B. Sanford, who is known as the "Founder of the Council," as the leading personalities in the midst of many other notable Christian leaders who contributed to the founding of the American Council in 1908.[2]

[1] See p. 178 *ff.*

[2] Dr. Elias B. Sanford, graduate of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., "Father of the American Federal Council," was, for years, a Methodist minister of the New York East Conference. He then accepted Congregational pastorates. He edited an *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*, was the editor of, or contributor to, many religious journals in connection with the Evangelical Alliance and the Christian Endeavour Society, as well as independent organs. He was the first secretary of the Federal Council, and remained in that office until 1912, when he was made honorary secretary. His *History of the Federal Council of Churches*, Hartford, Conn., 1916, is of great historical value for the Christian unity movements in the United States. See also Dr. C. S. Macfarland, *The Progress of Church Federation to* 1922, Fleming H. Revell, 1921, p. 26 *ff.* Dr. Macfarland is the present General Secretary of the Federal Council.

Among the movements which proved to be antecedent preparations were : the American Evangelical Alliance ; the Christian Endeavour Society ; the State, City, and American Bible Societies ; the Open and Institutional Church League, founded in 1894 in New York City, with Dr. E. B. Sanford as the Secretary in 1895, for the purpose of promoting the practice of keeping the Churches constantly open and engaged in everyday Christian social service ; the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York City in 1895, with Dr. Walter Laidlaw as the Secretary the following year ; the organization of the Connecticut Federation of Churches at the Annual Meeting of the Connecticut Bible Society on May 11th, 1899 ; the institution of the American Congress of Churches at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, which, after two subsequent meetings, ceased to function ; the first organization of State and County Sunday School Associations in 1856, and the formation of the American Sunday School Union, with its National Convention, made a permanent feature in 1869 ; the work of the Brotherhood of Philip and Andrew, founded by Rev. Rufus W. Miller in 1891 ; the great stimulus of interdenominational co-operation caused by the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. ; and the appointment of a National Committee on Federation of Churches at a Conference held in New York City, February 12th, 1900, with Mr. William Dodge as the Chairman, and for which Conference Dr. E. B. Sanford was chiefly responsible. Thus the evangelical Christians of the United States were led to the point where there was a strong conviction that the Churches should federate as Churches for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom in all matters not involving transgression upon their own doctrines or the compromise of conscience.

On the Federation Committee appointed at the New York Conference of 1900 there were five Baptist, three Congregational, one Disciple of Christ, two Lutheran, four Methodist Episcopal, one Methodist Episcopal, South, four Presbyterian, two Protestant Episcopal, and three Reformed representatives, acting as individuals, all of whom were outstanding leaders in their respective denominations.[1] At the first meeting of this Committee Mr. J. Cleveland Cady was elected Chairman, and Dr. E. B. Sanford Secretary. On February 6th, 1901, at a conference in Philadelphia, these same officers were continued in the National Federation of Churches, which was here organized. Mr. Alfred R. Kimball was made the treasurer. Other outstanding leaders were added to the Committee. Under the auspices of this newly-formed National Federation notable conferences were held in many of the cities of the United States. At one of these gatherings, held in Washington, February 4th–5th, 1902, Dr. Sanford, in giving his report as General Secretary, expressed a hope which led to a call being issued to the Supreme Courts of the Churches of the United States to send official delegates with power to represent the Churches as such at the annual assembly of the National Federation in 1905. By that time all of the Supreme Courts, or conferences, would have met and could have taken action in response to the call

[1] E. B. Sanford, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–118. Here the names and official positions of these leaders are recorded.

if they should choose to do so. It was the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in its General Conference, assembled in Dallas, Texas, in May, 1903, that was the first of the Churches to act favourably on the invitation to send delegates. One Church after another followed suit.

The officers of the National Federation of Churches, busy all the while promoting the formation of local and State Federations, made preparation for an inter-Church conference on Federation which was to meet in Carnegie Hall, New York, in November, 1905. The Rev. Dr. W. H. Roberts, a prominent Presbyterian leader of New York City, was made Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements. He was later Chairman of the Conference itself, and the Acting President of the Federal Council from 1905 to 1908, that is, during the period when the Constitution adopted at New York in 1905 was being ratified by the supreme councils of the constituting Churches.

At the meeting in Carnegie Hall the proposed Constitution, having been adopted, was passed on to the Churches for their ratification. Of the thirty denominations represented at the New York meeting in 1905 all but the Protestant Episcopal Church entered the Federation, which was finally completed at the historic meeting in the Academy of Music Hall, Philadelphia, December 2nd–8th, 1908. The objects of the American Federal Council thus founded are indicated as follows in its Constitution :

> " I. To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church.
>
> II. To bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world.
>
> III. To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the Churches.
>
> IV. To secure a larger combined influence for the Churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.
>
> V. To assist in the organization of local branches of the Federal Council to promote its aims in their communities.
>
> This Federal Council shall have no authority over the constituent bodies adhering to it ; but its province shall be limited to the expression of its counsel and the recommending of a course of action in matters of common interest to the Churches, local councils, and individual Christians. It has no authority to draw up a common creed or form of government, or of worship, or in any way to limit the full autonomy of the Christian bodies adhering to it."

While the Federal Council cannot interfere with the local autonomy of its constituent bodies, it is itself made up of the officially delegated representatives of these bodies. It is " an officially and ecclesiastically constituted body."[1] The United Lutheran Church is a consultative body only, and the Protestant Episcopal Church is represented on

[1] B. S. Winchester, editor, *The Handbook of the Churches, op. cit.*, 1927, p. 202.

three committees of the Council through its Commissions on Christian Unity and Social Service.

Associated with the Council are many very important affiliated, co-operating, and consultative bodies. The affiliated bodies are: the Home Missions Council;[1] the Council of Women for Home Missions—made up of twenty-two constituent Boards, nineteen affiliated conferences and schools of missions, three consulting organizations, and ninety affiliated women's interdenominational groups; the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions;[2] the International Council of Religious Education—formed in 1922 by a merger of the International Sunday School Association with the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations; and the Council of Church Boards of Education, which has as its object the promotion of Christian education by close co-operation between the educational Boards of nearly twenty denominations.

The bodies which co-operate with the Federal Council are: The American Bible Society;[3] the National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations;[4] and the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations.[5]

The bodies which hold a merely consultative relation are: the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America; the Committee of Co-operation in Latin America, whose work we have already noted, especially with reference to the Montevideo Conference of 1925; the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions;[6] and the Association of Executive Secretaries of Councils of Churches (State and Local). The first-named body is a most important union Conference of the Foreign Mission Boards of practically all the Churches of North America, and has a permanent Committee which meets annually. It represents a deliberate effort to provide, at the home base, as much unity as possible to correspond with the yearning for such unity in the Mission fields. By 1927 there were fifty American cities whose Church Federations had full-time paid secretaries. Four of the States had fully-organized State Federations of Churches. Additional Federations with voluntary or partially-paid leadership are to be found in many local communities.

The American Federal Council carries on its work through powerful and efficient Commissions as follows: Evangelism, Social Service, Country Life, Christian Education, Temperance, International Justice and Good-will, Inter-Church Federations (State and Local), Relations with France and Belgium, Relations with the Religious Bodies in Europe, and Race Relations.

Including the Lutherans and the Protestant Episcopalians, there are now twenty-eight of the leading denominations in the Federal Council. The names of these federated Churches are indicated with appropriate markings in the denominational statistics of the United States.[7]

As this Council is organized to-day, it has its chief headquarters

[1] See pp. 271. [2] See p. 271. [3] See p. 122. [4] See p. 145. [5] See p. 144–6. [6] See p. 146.

[7] See p. 409 *ff* in Appendix.

in New York City,[1] with branch offices in Washington, Chicago, Berne (Switzerland), and Athens (Greece). It is the most powerful and efficient federation of Churches in the world to-day. In the United States it has more power and influence than would be held by a State-controlled Church, since it possesses absolute freedom from State dictation, coupled with the strength and efficiency which arise from closely and officially connected bodies. The responsible officials of the Government of the United States freely consult the mind of the Council, to which great deference is paid. The Council itself now consists of about four hundred members, elected by its constituent Communions, and convenes every four years. The Executive Committee meets at least once a month. The former Presidents have been: Dr. W. H. Roberts, Presbyterian, 1905–1908; Bishop Eugene R. Hendrix, Methodist Episcopal, South, 1908–1912; Dean Shailer Matthews, Northern Baptist, 1912–1916; Dr. Frank Mason North, Methodist Episcopal, 1916–1920; and Dr. Robert E. Speer, Presbyterian, 1920–1924. The President to-day is the Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Congregational, who, by virtue of his position, and because of his many achievements, holds a commanding place in the whole Christian world.

(2) CHURCH FEDERATION IN ENGLAND.

The beginnings of Church Federation in England, as in the United States, are to be found going back many years before the actual organization of the English Federal Council in 1917. While Richard Baxter, in 1652, founded the Worcestershire Association, which was copied in many other counties in England, the actual beginning of federative movements, in the sense of co-operation, in England, that have persisted to the present day, took place in 1780, when the modern Sunday School had its beginnings, chiefly under Robert Raikes, and when the Naval and Military Bible Society was founded in London and Liverpool. Then followed in 1792 the organization, in Dublin, of the Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion, with the representatives of various Churches as its Directors. We have also previously noted the co-operation of both the Established and the dissenting Churches in the founding of the London Missionary Society in 1795, and of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. The participation of the Church of England in any of these Societies in which the Free Churches had a controlling part was vigorously objected to by those with High Church views. The Oxford and Tractarian Movement of 1833 resulted in the accentuation of the differences between the Catholics and the Evangelicals, with the result that the Evangelicals of the Anglican Church and of the Free Churches united to form the Evangelical Alliance in 1846.[2] Speaking of the Conference in Free Masons' Hall, London, when the Alliance was organized, Dr. Philip Schaff said,

[1] Headquarters at 105 East 22nd Street.
[2] See p. 174 *ff.*

"The meeting was overwhelmingly English, and was controlled by Episcopalians, Scotch Presbyterians, and English Dissenters."[1] In 1857, as we have already noted, the Church of England, with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and many of the other Bishops as leaders, gave very active and enthusiastic support to the Berlin Conference of the Evangelical Alliance.

The Ritualistic Movement in the Church of England gained such headway in the succeeding decades that by the 'eighties and 'nineties there was a very powerful Anglo-Catholic effort to meet certain French Catholics more than half way in the effort to get Rome to give favourable recognition to the validity of the Anglican Orders. As we know, this rather ill-advised effort came to naught. The interest of the Anglican and the Eastern Churches in each other had been increasing steadily,[2] and was thereby augmented. The possibility of much, if any, federated co-operation as between the Established Church and the Evangelical Churches was correspondingly decreased, and did not appear again until Copec in 1924.[3] The British Evangelical Alliance, in which a few Anglicans still held membership, was rapidly spending its force as a vigorous crusade. Within the Church of England such leaders of Evangelical and Broad Church tendencies as Dean A. P. Stanley, Charles Kingsley, Frederick D. Maurice and Frederick W. Robertson, together with their successors, have accomplished the creation of a group of English Church leaders, who do favour federative activity with the Free Churches in all matters of Christian social service. But, in the meantime, when the Evangelicals of the Churches of England were ready for the formation of a Federal Council at the close of the nineteenth century, that federation had to be accomplished among the Free Churches alone.

We are now ready to consider the steps which were immediately antecedent to the beginnings of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, which Council was first suggested by the Rev. Dr. Guinness Rogers in an article in *The Methodist Times* of February 20th, 1890.[4] Dr. W. B. Selbie holds that the modern movement proper for the federation of the Evangelical Free Churches began in the Grindelwald Conferences of 1891, 1893, and 1894. He writes that these were followed by further conferences at Manchester, Bradford, and London.[5] Of these Grindelwald Conferences the host was the Rev. Henry Lunn, M.A., M.D., a Wesleyan Minister, now Sir Henry Lunn, editor and publisher of *The Review of the Churches*,[6] one of the leading present-day publications dealing with the news and problems of Christian re-union. Sir Henry has given us an account of the rise of federative movements in England.[7] He writes that in the 'eighties new movements arose for social reform. Andrew Mearn's

[1] *History of the Creeds of Christendom, op. cit.*, p. 916.
[2] See pp. 212–221. [3] See p. 291 *ff.*
[4] Hugh Price Hughes, article, "Free Church Unity—The New Movement," *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. 71, March, 1897.
[5] Article in *The Constructive Quarterly*, V, 20, Dec., 1917.
[6] First Series, 1891–1894; Second Series, 1924. Headquarters at 5, Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.1.
[7] *Chapters from My Life*, London, 1919. Here we also find the history of the Grindelwald Conferences.

book, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, "had aroused social workers to the necessity of combined effort." The most diverse schools were brought together by the great dock strike of 1890. Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians, joined to interview the Director of the Docks. Then Sir Henry generously states that for many years preceding his first Swiss Conference, and for several years afterwards, Dr. Fremantle, Canon of Canterbury, and afterwards Dean of Ripon, held a series of conferences on Christian unity at Sion College. These conferences differed from Grindelwald in that Canon Fremantle invited Unitarians to his meetings. At one of these assemblies James Martineau, Unitarian, stated that if he had been at the Council of Nicæa in 325 he would have been on the side of Athanasius.

The first of the Conferences held at Grindelwald, Switzerland, took place in January, 1892. Of the few present, nearly all took Communion at the hands of the English Chaplain, who was under the Bishop of London. Because of this, a storm of protest was raised in *The Church Times* and *The Church Record*, of London. For a second Conference Sir Henry was the host to a much larger number of delegates. They assembled on Tuesday, September 6th, 1892. In preparation for this Conference, a number of English Christian leaders joined in sending a letter to *The Times*, asking that special prayers for the success of the Conference be offered on the first Sundays of June, July, August, and September. Their names were as follows: Church of England—J. J. S. Perowne, Bishop of Worcester, W. Hay, M. H. Aitken, W. Barker, A. R. Buckland, F. W. Farrar, W. H. Fremantle, H. A. Hall, and Basil Wilberforce; Church of Ireland—H. Kingsmill Moore, G. T. Stokes; Presbyterian—Marcus Dods, J. M. Gibson; Congregational—Alfred Cave, R. F. Horton, Alexander Mackennal, J. G. Rogers; Baptist—C. F. Aked, J. Clifford; Methodist—W. H. Dallinger, W. J. Dawson, Hugh Price Hughes, and T. Bowman Stephenson. Practically all the discussions were based on the Lambeth Quadrilateral as issued in 1888. A third Conference was held in 1894 and a fifth in 1895. Sir Henry revived the series in September, 1923, at which time he was the host to a large and representative group at Mürren, Switzerland, where they discussed Resolution 13 of the Lambeth Conference of 1920 dealing with united effort to promote Christian civic and social service. The first Grindelwald Conferences were held under the fire of many critics and cynics. They were pioneer efforts in the modern era, when catholic and evangelical Churchmen conferred with a view to closer union. Those who were present returned to England with a new hope and vision, particularly Hugh Price Hughes.[1] The evangelicals of this number had heard the call of God, which was to lead them into the formation of the Free Church Council.

In *The Methodist Times* of February, 20th 1890, there appeared a contributed article entitled "A Congress of the Free Churches,"

[1] Dr. Shakespeare calls Hughes the "Father" of the Free Church Council. *The Constructive Quarterly*, VII, 26. Dr. Shakespeare at this time (June, 1919), was President of the National Free Church Council, and active in the organization of the English Federal Council of Churches.

written by the Rev. Guinness Rogers. This, as we have noted, is regarded as the first suggestion that a Council of Free Churches be formed. Hugh Price Hughes stated that one hundred years previous to 1890 the English Dissenters and the Methodists were " as far apart as the two sections of Anglicanism represented by *The Record* and *The Church Times*."[1] Dr. J. G. Rogers argued that, as the Anglicans had annual Church Congresses, so ought the Free Churches. He suggested that the Wesleyans, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Presbyterians should get together. In the next number of *The Methodist Times* the suggestion of the Rev. J. G. Rogers was heartily seconded by Dr. John Clifford, the Rev. F. B. Meyer, Dr. Bowman Stephenson, Dr. Townsend, Dr. Watts, and Mr. Keen. The Rev. F. B. Meyer suggested that the Friends be included. Mr. George Cadbury, a noted Quaker from Birmingham, generously contributed financial help from the beginning. Principal A. M. Fairbairn gave his approval by tongue and pen. A committee of Manchester ministers and laymen asked that the first Congress be held in that city. The Rev. Dr. Mackennal was selected as secretary of the provincial committee. In November, 1892, the first Free Church Congress met at Manchester. Its membership consisted of those who had been invited by the self-constituted committee. There were no elected representatives. Each section had a different chairman. The second Congress was held at Leeds in the spring of 1894. There were very few present. There was not even a previously designated presiding officer for the initial session. Hugh Price Hughes wrote that the movement would have died at this juncture had not this Conference taken two important steps : the choice of a permanent president to preside at all sessions ; and the provision that in the following year the Congress should be organized on a representative basis. This latter provision raised the difficulty of encroachment upon the internal affairs of the denominations interested. This difficulty was removed by the provision for local councils in which the members met, not as denominationalists, but as Evangelical Free Churchmen. Thus unity without uniformity was secured.

At the next Congress, at Birmingham, Dr. Charles Berry was elected the first permanent President. In his inaugural address Dr. Berry said, " ' Our Nation for Christ ' is the motto inscribed on our banner. And not until we see a Christian Parliament, a series of Christian municipal bodies, Christian commerce, Christian industry, and Christian recreation, will our toil be ended and our discharge won."[2]

The task then confronting the Congress was its extension so that it would be a nation-wide organization. To assist in the accomplishment of this desired result, National Headquarters were established at Memorial Hall, London, and the Rev. Thomas Law was chosen to be the National Ogranizing Secretary. George and Richard Cadbury agreed to finance the Congress for the succeeding five years, as it sought to establish its nation-wide organization. It was at this Conference that the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes was chosen as the President-elect. There were one hundred thirty Councils and

[1] Hugh Price Hughes, *Free Church Unity, op. cit.*
[2] *Idem*, p. 445.

federations represented. At the close of Mr. Hughes' term of office, when he was succeeded by Dr. Monro Gibson, there were four hundred Councils.

While the Congress was in its next session at Nottingham, a Constitution, which had been in preparation during the preceding twelve months, was adopted. As the suggestion of Dr. Berry, the name was changed to "The First National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches." By this time eight thousand Churches with one million membership were represented in the Council. They voted to open their membership to members from the Free Episcopal Churches and such other evangelical Churches as might from time to time be admitted by the National Council.

The Constitution of this National Council defines its objects: "(a) To facilitate fraternal intercourse and co-operation among the Evangelical Free Churches; (b) To assist in the organization of local councils; (c) To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the Churches; (d) To advocate the New Testament doctrine of the Church, and to defend the rights of the associated Churches; (e) To promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life."

This National Council has been England's most representative and vigorous inter-Church group for all forms of Christian co-operative service since its inception. In recent years a weakness has been felt because its membership is voluntary rather than composed of the elected official representatives of the Churches concerned. Consequently the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches in England organized in 1917 with a membership of official representatives from the Churches as such, thus constituting the new Federal Council as an ecclesiastical body. We shall have more to say as to this Council presently.

One of the most significant doctrinal achievements of the National Free Church Council was the publication in December, 1898, of *An Evangelical Free Church Catechism.* which has received unanimous sanction. In its production the Congregationalists, Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, Primitive Methodists, Presbyterians, Methodist New Connexion, Bible Christians, and the United Methodist Free Church had co-operated for two years. According to Hugh Price Hughes, Chairman and Convener of the United Committee of scholars and clergy who had the work in hand, the great object of the committee was to express the Christian doctrines held in common by all the Evangelical Free Churches. This was said to have been the first combined statement of interdenominational beliefs held by Protestants. It is sad to have to record that this catechism has never come into general use.[1]

The Rev. Dr. J. H. Shakespeare, as the new president of the National Free Church Council in 1916, advocated in his inaugural address the formation of a Federal Council, to be constituted as we have already outlined.[2] Speaking again in 1919, he declared that the National

[1] Hugh Price Hughes, *op. cit.*

[2] See also in this connection, W. B. Selbie, article, "The Prospects of Free Church Federation," *Constructive Quarterly*, V, 20, Dec., 1917.

Free Church had spent its force, that the Wesleyan Methodists and the Presbyterians had stood aloof, and that its program had been increasingly social and political.[1] He, therefore, was convinced that the Free Churches of England should enter into actual federation. After his address in 1916 he, with others, went about England trying to create sentiment for the formation of a Federal Council. In September, 1916, a large conference of Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Primitive Methodists, Independent Methodists, Wesleyan Reformed, Moravians, Countess of Huntington Connexion, United Methodists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Disciples of Christ Churches, together with representatives of the Free Church Council, met at Mansfield College, Oxford. In March, 1917, they met for a second time, gathering at Leys School, Cambridge. At the Oxford Conference Committees on Faith, Constitution, Evangelization, and Ministry were appointed. At the Cambridge Conference the reports of these Committees were received. That on Faith was unanimously adopted. The others, after certain modifications, were later adopted. In this manner the Constitution of the Federal Council was created and accepted as it stands to-day. The final adoption of this Constitution came as the result of its adoption by the supreme councils of the Churches that chose to enter into the scheme. It is of interest to note that the founding of the Federal Council came when England was in the struggle of the World War. Through this new Council the Free Churches of England now have a united and authoritative voice.

Scarcely had this Federation come into existence when it was called upon by its constituent Communions to represent them in the negotiations with the Established Church in connection with the Lambeth Appeal for Home Re-union, as issued by the Conference of 1920. This was a difficult and delicate task, but the conduct of the Council in these negotiations has been pre-eminently satisfactory and the Free Churches have the utmost confidence in its power and ability. The past Presidents have been : the Rev. Dr. J. H. Shakespeare, Baptist ; the Rev. Dr. Scott Lidgett, Wesleyan ; and the Rev. Dr. P. Carnegie Simpson, Presbyterian. The Rev. Dr. A. E. Garvie, Congregationalist, Principal of Hackney and New College, who was the Deputy Chairman of Copec and of the Lausanne Conference also, and was prominent at the time of the Stockholm Conference, is now at the head of this Federal Council.

(3) CHURCH FEDERATION IN GERMANY

The German Evangelical Church Federation was organized at Stuttgart, September 11th–15th, 1921, at a second conference of the German National Churches. The formal inauguration of this Federation was held in the Castle Church at Wittenberg, so famous in Protestantism. Into it came twenty-eight National Churches, the German Association of Moravian Brethren taking the relation of affiliation

[1] Dr. Shakespeare, *op. cit.*

only. The National Churches are the present-day remains of the old State Churches. The Federation provides the rallying centre formerly found in the Monarchy. As has been the case in all federative movements, the Constituent Churches retain supreme control in their own internal affairs. The Federation as a whole has two chief functions : (1) to give all possible assistance to the individual Churches and to any form of united social service, whether at home or abroad ; and (2) to represent the interests of German Protestantism to the Reich and to the other Churches, and to give any required aid to the various contributing Churches in their relations to their respective States.[1]

The work of this Federation is carried out by means of its efficient organization into : (a) the *Kirchentag*, or German Evangelical Church Congress, which is a legislative body composed of laity and clergy in the proportion of two to one ; (b) the *Kirchenbundesrat*, which has advisory powers and handles all questions of ecclesiastical import ; (c) and the *Kirchenausschuss*, or the Church Committee, whose powers are executive. The first two bodies each furnish eighteen members to this Committee.[2]

The Reformed Churches which are in this Federation, and which include a membership of over six hundred thousand, have organized themselves into a *Reformirte Bund* in order to preserve the Calvinist tradition associated with the Heidelberg Catechism.[3]

The National Churches entering into the Federation are : the Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union ; the National Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Free State of Saxony ; the National Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover ; the National Evangelical Church in Würtemberg ; the National Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria, right side of the Rhine ; the National Evangelical Lutheran Church of Schleswig-Holstein ; the Evangelical Church of Thuringia ; the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the State of Hamburg ; the National Evangelical Church in Hessen ; the United National Evangelical Protestant Church of Baden ; the National Evangelical Church in Hessen-Cassel ; the National Evangelical Church in Nassau ; the National Evangelical Lutheran Church in Mecklenburg-Schwerin ; the United Protestant Evangelical Christian Church of the Palatinate (Palatine National Church) ; the National Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brunswick ; the National Evangelical Church of Anhalt ; the Evangelical Church of Bremen ; the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the District of Oldenburg ; the National Evangelical Church of Frankfort am Main ; the National Evangelical Reformed Church of the Province of Hanover ; the National Church (Lutheran and Reformed) of Lippe ; the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the State of Lübeck ; the National Church of Mecklenburg-Strelitz ; the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Reuss, older line ; the National Evangelical Church of Waldeck and Pyrmont ; the National Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Free State of Schaumburg-Lippe ; the Evangelical

[1] Adolf Keller and George Stewart, *Protestant Europe—Its Crisis and Outlook*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1927, Chap. XIX, p. 204 *ff.*

[2] *Europa Year Book*, 1927, p. 251.

[3] A. Keller and G. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 204 *ff.*

Lutheran Church of the District of Lübeck in the Free State of Oldenburg ; and the Evangelical Church of the District of Birkenfeld.

Of the Free Churches in Germany, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Evangelical Association, and the Association of Free Evangelical parishes have formed themselves into a Federation for the furtherance of their own efficiency.

(4) SWISS CHURCH FEDERATION

The Protestant Churches of Switzerland entered into a Federation in 1920, electing Dr. Adolf Keller, prominent leader in many international and inter-Church movements, as their secretary. Many years previously the Swiss National Churches had united in a " Swiss Church Conference." In 1920 this " Conference " became the Swiss Church Federation, when it was expanded and reorganized to include all the Cantonal Churches, the Free Churches of the French Section, the association of the Diaspora, the Methodist Churches, and some congregations outside Switzerland. The affairs of this Federation are managed by an Assembly of delegates and an Executive Committee. The Churches thus federated are each in themselves autonomous. The clergy have organized themselves into the Swiss Society of Ministers, which meets annually for the discussion of questions of common interest.

This Swiss Church Federation, following a suggestion made in a meeting called in New York by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America the previous November, assembled at Copenhagen a conference made up of the official representatives of the Evangelical Churches in Europe. This Conference, which met August 10th–12th, 1922, was called " The International Church Congress for Investigating the Situation of Protestantism in Europe." The gathering was more popularly known as the " Bethesda Conference," since it met in the Bethesda Mission House. This was the first time in history when the Evangelical Churches in Europe were brought together in an officially representative gathering. Dr. Adolf Keller, as secretary of the Swiss Federation, was the organizing and assembling genius. There were seventy-five official delegates from thirty-seven Church bodies located in twenty-one European nations.

(5) UNIONS AND FEDERATIONS IN FRANCE AND SPAIN

In the year 1905 two significant unions took place among the Reformed Churches of France, namely, the Union of the Reformed Churches, and the Union of the Reformed Evangelical Churches, the differences between the two unions being variations as to their requirements for membership. Previous to that year, the Rev. Dr. Wilfred Monod issued an invitation to the leaders of the Evangelical Churches in France to form a commission for the purpose of taking " measures for removing the barriers between the Churches." The invitation

was accepted, and in 1905 active steps were taken to form a Federation of the Protestant Churches. The organization was complete by 1907 except for the final adoption of a constitution, which event took place at the first National Assembly at Nïmes in 1909. The constituent members of this French Federation are : the National Union of the Evangelical Reformed Churches ; the National Union of Reformed Churches ; the Evangelical Lutheran Churches ; the Evangelical Free Churches ; the Evangelical Methodist Churches ; the Federation of the Evangelical Baptist Churches ; the Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Alsace and Lorraine ; and the Société Centrale Evangélique.[1]

The Evangelical Churches of Spain, namely, the Iglesia Evangelica Española, the Iglesia Española Reformada (founded by Cabrera) and the Iglesia Metodista de Ceyana, entered into a Federation in 1923.[2]

(6) THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES COUNCIL

The Churches of Scotland, except the Roman Catholic and the Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church, entered into a federal union in 1925, when, in their Assemblies or representative Meetings, they ratified the Constitution of the proposed Federation. By this Constitution a governing board is created which is made up as follows : ten representatives from the Church of Scotland, ten from the United Free Church, four from the Episcopal Church, four from the Congregational Union, two from the Baptist Union, two from the Wesleyan Methodist, two from the Primitive Methodist, two from the Reformed Presbyterian, and two from the Original Secession.

The chief functions of this Council are : " (1) To suggest to the constituent Churches when concerted action appears desirable with regard to questions of national importance and issues that touch the spiritual, moral, and social well-being of the people ; (2) to conduct inquiry on matters affecting the spiritual, moral, and social conditions of the people, with the view of suggesting lines of common action where such action is possible, and, with the approval of the constituent Churches, to take steps for any such common action."[3]

(7) THE CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND CITIZENSHIP (" COPEC ")

We have already considered the steps which led to the organization of first the National, then the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches of England and the rise of co-operation amongst the evangelicals for the performance of Christian social service. In 1889 a Christian Social Union was founded by the Rev. Scott Holland and

[1] Adolf Keller and George Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–282.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] J. Hutchinson Cockburn in the *Edinburgh Almanac*, Oliver & Boyd, 1927, p. 804.

Dr. Charles Gore. The Wesleyan Social Service Union was founded in 1905 by the Rev. S. E. Keeble. The first step towards united action between representatives of both the Anglican and Free Churches in matters of community service was taken at a meeting at Birmingham on February 20th, 1920. Here members of many Communions met to consider the relation of Christ to the social order.[1] A Council of two hundred fifty members was formed. They organized by electing the Rt. Rev. Dr. William Temple, the Bishop of Manchester, as Chairman ; Miss Lucy Gardner and Dr. C. E. Raven as secretaries ; the Rev. Hugh Martin as Chairman of the Executive Committee ; and the Rev. Will Reason as secretary of the Social Service Crusade. Dr. A. E. Garvie, who was made Chairman of the Commission on War, was also the Deputy Chairman of the Conference which met April 5th–12th, 1924. In preparation for the Conference, two hundred fifty thousand questionnaires were distributed. In 1922 the method of considering these questions in study groups became an integral part of the program of the Conference. In larger centres public meetings were held. The Twelve Commissions which formulated very valuable and authoritative reports, with their Chairmen, were as follows : The Nature of God and His Purpose for the World, Professor W. H. Moberly ; Education, the Bishop of Liverpool ; Home, Captain R. L. Reiss ; The Relation of the Sexes, Professor W. F. Lofthouse ; Leisure, the Rev. T. W. Pym ; The Treatment of Crime, Francis Allen ; International Relations, E. F. Wise ; Christianity and War, Dr. A. E. Garvie ; Industry and Property, Constance Smith ; Politics and Citizenship, Brig.-Gen. Sir Wyndham Deedes ; The Social Functions of the Church, the Bishop of Lichfield ; and Historical Illustrations of the Social Effect of Christianity, Professor J. Vernon Bartlet. A Continuation Committee was named which of itself and in conjunction with the English members of the Stockholm Conference, has been carrying on the spirit and methods of Copec. This Conference was the most significant social Congress, with all the Churches co-operating, ever held in England. It proved to be a most providential preparation for the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work held in Stockholm in 1925.

(8) THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON LIFE AND WORK AT STOCKHOLM, 1925

In brief, the events leading up to the Stockholm Conference were as follows. In 1914, following the outbreak of the World War, an appeal for peace and Christian fellowship was sent out by Christian leaders from several of the neutral countries. This appeal was sent out by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Primate of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and by leading churchmen and Christian organizations in Holland and Switzerland. Two prelates

[1] Edward Shillito, *Christian Citizenship. The Story and Meaning of C.O.P.E.C.*, Longmans Green & Co., 1924.
See also the published Reports of the Commissions.

PLATE III.

OPENING SESSION OF THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE, 1925.

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from belligerent States, the Archbishop of Abo (Finland), and Bishop Farancz of Siebenbürgen, joined the foregoing in this appeal. At the quadrennial meeting of the American Federal Council, in 1916, proposals were made that the Christian Communions of the world hold some sort of a union meeting. Without previous mutual consultation, the Swiss Church Conference, and Christians in Scandinavia, Hungary, Great Britain, and other countries, made similar proposals at almost the same time. In June, 1917, The Most Rev. Dr. Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Upsala and Primate of Sweden, together with the Bishops of Seeland and Christiana and churchmen from Holland and Switzerland, reissued a similar appeal declaring that they were ready to act as intermediaries for keeping up or restoring communications, especially in religious and Church matters so disturbed by the war. This was followed later by an invitation to the Christians of all countries to meet in conference. Passport difficulties prevented delegates from the Western belligerents from attending. Nevertheless, a conference of Christian leaders from neutral countries was held at Upsala, December 14th–16th, 1917. This was followed by further activities by certain English leaders, and by the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople. The President of the Swiss Church Conference brought the matter before the committee of the World Evangelical Alliance at its meeting at Oud Wassenær, near the Hague, in October, 1919. Dr. C. S. Macfarland, General Secretary of the American Federal Council, and the Archbishop of Upsala were the ones designated to present the matter to the Alliance Committee. This committee, on October 2nd, passed a resolution expressing deep sympathy with the proposal for an Ecumenical conference of the different Christian Communions, and directed that their resolution should be referred to each National Council of the Alliance, which should in turn communicate it to the respective Churches. This resolution proved to be of great value, even though they made no indications that they would undertake to hold the Conference.

The American Federal Council then took the matter in hand, and sent out invitations to a preparatory conference, which met at Geneva, August 9th–12th, 1920, immediately before the preparatory conference to the 1927 World Conference on Faith and Order held at Lausanne. This conference preparatory to Stockholm was attended by ninety members from fifteen countries, together with a Commission from the Eastern Orthodox Churches. The chair was taken by Professor Choisy of Geneva, Dr. A. J. Brown of New York, Dr. McClymont of Edinburgh, the Bishop of Seeland, and by Dr. Cramer of Holland. They adopted the final name of the Conference, and took steps to secure co-operation with the British Copec Conference. They resolved that Foreign Missions should not be included in the agenda, as the Edinburgh Continuation Committee was still functioning. There next followed, after the meeting of the World Evangelical Alliance held at Copenhagen in 1922, a gathering at Helsingborg, Sweden, August 12th–15th, of the International Committee, created at Geneva. Here a new foundation was laid for the continuation of the work by a reconstruction of the International Committee, and by definite agreement as to program, and as to date and place.

The Conference finally met August 19th–30th, 1925, at Stockholm, Sweden. The four Presidents of this historic gathering were: the Archbishop of Upsala, Nathan Söderblom; the Archbishop of Canterbury (the Lord Bishop of Winchester acted as his deputy); the Patriarch of Constantinople (Archbishop Germanos acted as his deputy); and Dr. Arthur J. Brown from America. Five hundred representatives from the greater number of the Communions of the world, apart from the Roman Church, were in attendance. These came from thirty-seven nations. The Crown Prince of Sweden and his wife were regularly present. The aim of the Conference, as defined by the Executive Committee which met at Zürich in 1923 was "The Conference on Life and Work, without entering into questions of Faith and Order, aims to unite the different Churches in common practical work, to furnish the Christian conscience with an organ of expression in the midst of the great spiritual movement of our time, and to insist that the principles of the Gospel be applied to the solution of the contemporary social and international problems."

The subjects which formed the basis of discussion were: The Purpose of God for Humanity and the Duty of the Church; The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems; The Church and International Relations; the Church and Christian Education; and Methods of Co-operative and Federative Efforts by the Christian Communions.

Although the Conference adopted no definite set of what may be termed official findings, they did record in their minutes what they called "The Message of the Conference." In this Message special thanksgiving is made for the fact that the Conference had actually assembled. They declared the world to be too strong for a divided Church, a lesson drawn from the World War; they called for a confession of sins due to a lack of love and sympathy; they accepted the duty of applying the Gospel in all realms of life—industrial, social, political, and international; that, in economics, the soul is that which is of supreme value, and there must be free and full development of human personality; that the Church must contend for the rights of moral personality; that they opposed both national bigotry and weak cosmopolitanism, and they pledged themselves to seek the peaceful removal of the causes of war in the horrors of which the Churches must share; that the mission of the Church is to state principles; that there is great need for the universal extension of Christian education; that all Christians should share in a wider fellowship; that the youth of the world should be enlisted in all the foregoing enterprises; and finally, that there should be a Continuation Committee which should carry on the work and aims of the Conference in the years to come.

This Conference stands out as being the first instance since the beginnings of Protestantism when both Catholics and Evangelicals, including among the former the ancient Churches of the East, have gathered in a union assembly. While the Conference had as its subject those activities in the pursuit of which the Churches of Christ must ultimately be brought to union, it was evident that there was a fundamental need for greater proximation on the part of the various Com-

munions in matters of Faith and Order. The latter was the burden of the Lausanne Conference. At this latter Conference it became evident, as we shall later indicate, that the only sure way to greater unity in ecclesiastical life is by the way first of federated service in Christ's name, with all of the abstract doctrines kept just as far in the background as possible, and then, presently, through the common loyalty to the person of the historical Jesus, the way of comprehensive unity (not uniformity), in practical love will be found, and will be visibly expressed.

PROTESTANT OR EVANGELICAL UNIONS AND DENOMINATIONAL FEDERATIONS

" And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house be divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand."

—S. Mark, iii, 24–25.

" And when the day of Pentecost was now come, they were all together in one place."

—The Acts of the Apostles, ii, 1.

" For there is one God, one mediator also between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all."

—I Timothy, ii, 5–6.

" Break down the old dividing walls
Of sect, and rivalry, and schism,
And heal the body of thy Christ
With the anointment of thy chrism.

Cleanse it of shibboleths and strife,
End all the discords that were rife,
Heal the old wounds and give new life !
Break down the hedges that have grown
So thickly all about Thy throne,
And clear the paths, that every soul
That seeks Thee—of himself alone
May find, and be made whole !—
One Church, one all-harmonious voice,
One passion for Thy High Employs,
One heart of gold without alloys,
One striving for the higher joys,
One Christ, one Cross, one only Lord,
One living of the Living Word."

—John Oxenham.

CHAPTER VIII

Protestant or Evangelical Unions and Denominational World Federations

(1) AMERICAN LUTHERAN UNIONS

On June 22nd, 1917, at the convention of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States, meeting in Chicago, unanimous action was taken ratifying the Constitution of the United Lutheran Church of America, that step signifying the joining of the union. Two other Lutheran Churches were also to unite with the General Synod by their ratification of the same Constitution, which had been unanimously agreed upon by the representative Commissions of the three negotiating Churches in a meeting at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on June 5th of that year. The two other Lutheran Churches, besides the General Synod, which entered the union, were the General Council and the United Synod of the South. These three Churches included over one-third of the communicant Lutheran membership in the United States, and that portion which is most Americanized in spirit and language.[1]

The General Synod had been formed in 1820 as a direct result of attempts to unite the separate Synods in connection with the celebration of the 300th Anniversary of the Reformation. As it existed in 1917, this Synod was composed of Institutions founded by the educational and home missionary activity emanating from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. From this General Synod the Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdrew in 1823, only to unite with it again in 1853. After fifteen years they again withdrew as a result of a difference over the confessional basis. In 1867 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, together with some hitherto unattached Synods in the Middle West, united to form the General Council. By 1917 this General Council consisted of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, founded in 1748 by Dr. Henry Melchior Mühlenburg; the Ministerium of New York, founded 1776 by Dr. Frederick Augustus Mühlenburg, son of the founder of the former group; and the Swedish Augustana Synod, which had Churches all over the United States, and a Theological Seminary at Rock Island, Illinois. The United Synod of the South was composed almost exclusively of members with colonial ancestry. Its ministers had come from both the General Synod and the General Council, as well as from their own Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina. It was thus in a position to act as an arbitrator in the negotiations for union.

In 1783 the General Council invited all the Lutheran bodies to a

[1] For the facts stated in this narrative we are indebted to Dr. Henry E. Jacobs, Dean of the Lutheran Theological School at Philadelphia, whose article on the subject appeared in *The Constructive Quarterly*, Vol. V, Sept., 1917.

" Colloquium," it having previously received a proposal from the General Synod to exchange official visitors. While it was not possible to get official sanction to the " Colloquium," the Rev. Dr. J. A. Seiss, of Philadelphia (General Council), and the Rev. Dr. J. G. Morrow, of Baltimore (General Synod), co-operated in carrying out the two unofficial " Diets " in the years 1877 and 1878. In 1879 the United Synod of the South invited the other two Lutheran bodies with which we are concerned to join with them in the publication of a Common Book of Worship. " The Common Service for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations " was produced in 1887, and was used not only by the three Churches but also by other Lutherans, such as those of the Synodical Conference. Finally, in 1917, after twenty years of work by a Joint Committee, *The Common Service Book and Hymnal* was published.

It was the General Synod which in 1893 suggested the mutual appointment of a Commission on Practical Co-operation for Comity in Home Missions. This the three Churches did. The Commission thus created was responsible for the holding of three General Conferences,[1] in which doctrinal and practical questions were discussed. In 1895 official visitors were exchanged. From 1894 the practical co-operation agreed upon began to show definite results, in connection with the Deaconess Boards and Foreign Missions. In South India the missionaries of the General Council and of the General Synod, who were working among the Telegus, formed a " Conference " and not long thereafter were successful in uniting nearly all the Lutheran missionaries of India into " The All-India Lutheran Conference."

Other activities of a union nature helped to draw these three Communions together, such as the Association of their editors; the formation of Social Unions in cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg; union meetings of the Theological Faculties; inter-Synodical union ministers' meetings; and the Luther Brotherhood and the Luther League.

To celebrate the 400th Anniversary of the Reformation they united in the appointment of a Joint Committee in the year 1916. This Committee was meeting for what was thought to be its last session on April 18th, 1917, when the report was brought in that a group of very influential laymen, mostly members of the Committee on finance, very urgently requested that immediate steps be taken to bring at least the three Churches under consideration into organic union. The Commission acted at once by requesting the Presidents of the three Communions who were present in the meeting to associate with themselves representatives of their respective bodies, and to begin at once the preparation of plans for such a union, including the necessary Constitution. On May 30th, 1917, the joint union committee thus created met at Harrisburg. The Boards of Home Missions, Foreign Missions, Church Extension and Publicity had previously, after conference, agreed to the proposed union. On June 5th, 1917, the proposed Constitution was agreed upon. This was sent on to the proper courts of the three negotiating Churches for their adoption.

[1] Two were in Philadelphia in 1899 and 1902, and the third in Pittsburg in 1904.

The Confessional Basis, which received unanimous approval for the United Lutheran Church, was as follows:

"The United Lutheran Church in America

1. "Receives and holds the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the inspired Word of God, and the only infallible rule and standard according to which all doctrines and teachings are to be judged.

2. "Accepts the three ecumenical creeds, namely, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, as important testimonies drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and rejects all errors which they condemn.

3. "Receives and holds the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of faith and doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, founded upon the Word of God; and acknowledges all Churches that sincerely believe and faithfully confess the doctrines of the unaltered Augsburg Confession to be entitled to the name of Evangelical Lutheran.

4. "Recognizes the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalkald Articles, the Large and Small Catechisms of Luther and the Formula of Concord, as in harmony of one and the same Scripture faith."

The foregoing review of the events in connection with the formation of the United Lutheran Church reads almost like a romance. During nearly the same years there was taking place a quite similar and well-nigh as thrilling movement which in 1917 culminated in the union of the three most important Norwegian Lutheran Synods, in the presence of an audience of ten thousand people, at St. Paul, Minnesota. This formed the Norwegian Church of America, a Church with three hundred thousand communicants and twelve hundred ministers. Verily the Lutherans set an example before all the world for the manner and dispatch with which they accomplished unions in which all concerned are perfectly happy over the result.[1]

The United Lutheran Church, which came into being as such in 1917, is the only one of the American Lutheran Churches which bears any relation to the Federal Council of Churches, that relation being only that of a consultative body. In an article, "The Church and the Churches,"[2] Dr. Henry E. Jacobs summarizes the attitude of his Church towards general Christian unity by quoting the following paragraph from the Formula of Concord:

"For that unity we entertain heartfelt pleasure and love, and this, on our part, we are sincerely inclined and anxious to advance according to our utmost power, by which His glory remains to God uninjured, nothing of the divine truth of the Holy Gospel is surrendered, no place is admitted for the least error, poor sinners are brought to true, genuine repentance, encouraged by faith, confirmed in new obedience, and thus justified and eternally saved alone through the sole merit of Christ."

[1] See article by Dr. Henry E. Jacobs, *op. cit.*

[2] Henry Eyster Jacobs, D.D., LL.D., in *The Constructive Quarterly*, Vol. V, June, 1917.

(2) PROGRESS TOWARDS UNION OF THE UNITED FREE CHURCH AND THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

The Rev. Dr. Scott, of St. George's, Edinburgh, brought an overture to the attention of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1907, suggesting that the United Free Church be invited to join in a conference to see if some sort of a settlement could not be made to bring about union between the two Churches. The General Assembly Committee decided that this matter should be proceeded with, and the following invitation was formulated for transmission to all the other Presbyterian Churches of Scotland:

> "The General Assembly resolve to request the other Presbyterian Churches to confer with them in a friendly and generous spirit on the present ecclesiastical situation in Scotland: and more especially in the meantime, with a view to discover in what manner a larger measure of Christian fellowship and co-operation than now existing may be secured, and the way further prepared for that closer union for which many hearts now eagerly long and pray."[1]

The United Free Church appointed a Committee to consider this invitation. In acknowledging it they declared that it was their duty "to meet with ready and serious consideration proposals in the direction of Re-union consistent with the principle of their spiritual freedom." The Committee appointed to consider the invitation reported in 1909. The General Assembly of the United Free Church expressed the highest appreciation of the gracious communication from the Church of Scotland, but in their answer they stated that they were "unable to entertain the suggestion that conference on Co-operation offers the path best fitted to lead to Union." They indicated, however, their willingness "to enter into unrestricted conference with their brethren of the Church of Scotland on the existing ecclesiastical situation, and on the main causes which keep the churches apart, in the earnest hope that misunderstandings and hindrances may be removed and the great object of Presbyterian Re-union in Scotland be thereby advanced."[2]

To this challenging reply from the United Free Church the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at their next session, responded favourably. Both Churches then appointed Committees of one hundred each to confer, with the aim of organic union. The Church of Scotland Committee had as its original Conveners the Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod and Lord Balfour of Burleigh. Upon the death of Dr. MacLeod, Dr. Wallace Williamson, of St. Giles, was named as his successor. The first Conveners of the United Free Church Re-union Committee were the Rev. Dr. Henderson, of Crieff, and the Rev. Dr. Robson, formerly of Inverness, who has since been succeeded by the

[1] The Rev. W. P. Patterson, "Presbyterian Re-union in Scotland," article in *The Constructive Quarterly*, March, 1913, p. 81 *ff.*

[2] *Idem.*

Rev. Dr. Young. In the course of the negotiations, which proceeded in the very finest spirit, the United Free Church steadily expressed a willingness for union, provided the principle of freedom on the part of the Christian Church from interference by the State in its internal affairs should be guaranteed for the United Church. The Church of Scotland, on the other hand, with an equal zeal for union, persisted throughout the Conferences in asking that the principle of Establishment for the Church be maintained, and that properties and temporal income which were then in the right of the Established Church should under no circumstances be devoted to secular purposes.

The negotiations had not proceeded far before it became evident that for the United Church to be both Established and Free, the law establishing the present Church of Scotland would have to be changed so as to remove all possibilities of State interference in its internal life, and so as to give it the utmost freedom to enter into union with other Churches, and yet not lose its right to benefit by its present temporalities.

In 1914 the Church of Scotland drafted Articles as a Constitution under which it would be both National and Free. The outbreak of the War deterred progress until 1919, when the Church of Scotland submitted these Articles to its eighty-four Presbyteries, seventy-four of which approved. The Church of Scotland Committee was thereby authorized to approach the Government. Accordingly the Church of Scotland Bill was introduced into Parliament. In May, 1921, the Scottish Church Assembly approved the Bill, and the United Free Church Assembly welcomed the Articles. The Bill received Royal Assent in July, 1921. Details as to property and endowments have been provided for by subsequent legislation. Both Churches, by their own votes, are now ready to proceed to Organic Union. This union is one of the most ideal in the long history of re-union movements, because of its result in having a Church that is both National and Free. The Parliamentary Act itself in its more important parts may be found in the Appendix.[1] It is an historic document, and should be carefully studied.

(3) AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN UNIONS

In 1912 a simultaneous meeting was held in Atlanta, Georgia, of the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Churches of the U.S.A. and of the U.S., the United Presbyterian Church, and the Southern Synod of the Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church. There was "the hope that the ensuing fellowship might result in organic union." Very fine fellowship was enjoyed, but no definite steps were taken toward organic union.

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. made a proposal in 1918 for "Organic Church Union of the Evangelical Churches in America." The time was not ripe for such action, this Church itself not acting

[1] See p. 391 *ff.*

favourably. The Federal Council was deemed by many to be as far as the Churches would go with regard to unity at that time.

The Union of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church was effected at a conference held in Philadelphia in 1920.

(4) THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA[1]

It was in 1899 that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada made a declaration to the effect that they would gladly co-operate with other denominations in providing churches for the new and scattered population in the vast districts of central and western Canada.[2] Even at that time there were those who had dreams of organic union rather than mere co-operation. The actual launching of the plan for organic union came about in a most unpremeditated manner. Principal Patrick of the Presbyterian College of Winnipeg, in 1902, speaking before the session of the Methodist General Conference, decided on the spur of the moment to broach the subject of organic union, which was much in his thoughts, but which had not been authorized by the Assembly which he represented.[3] Dr. Patrick's suggestion bore immediate fruit. A day or two later the Methodist Conference passed a unanimous declaration[4] in favour of union with the Protestant Churches in Canada. This was followed by their extending an invitation to the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches for a conference to study how these three Churches might form an organic union. Thus Dr. Patrick's speech inaugurated the movement to which the Methodist Church, in conference assembled, gave a very substantial momentum.[5]

The Congregational Union had, in 1887, indicated the willingness of its churches to join in any union movement " consistent with what they believed to be the New Testament principle of righteousness and freedom." It accepted the Methodist invitation. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1903 referred the invitation to its committee on correspondence.[6] This committee, after conferring with committees from the Congregational and Methodist Churches on April 21st, 1904, reported to the Presbyterian Assembly of that year that all three committees were unanimous in believing that the organic union proposal was " both desirable and practicable." The three denominations involved then appointed union committees,

[1] For the previous Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Unions, see p. 172 *ff.*

[2] *United Church of Canada—Basis of Union—Historical Statement*, etc., Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1922, p. 3.

[3] Principal Patrick gave an account of his speech in *The Presbyterian*, Toronto, May 12th, 1910.

[4] *United Church of Canada*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[5] *Church Union in Canada. Its History, Motives, Doctrine, and Government*, by E. Lloyd Morrow. Thomas Allen, Toronto, 1923, p. 15 *ff.*

[6] See Presbyterian Assembly Minutes, 1903, as cited by Morrow, *op. cit.*, p. 16. *United Church of Canada*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 4.

sixty members each from the Methodists and Presbyterians, and thirty from the Congregationalists.

These three groups met in Joint Committee for the first time on December 21st, 1904, in the Knox Presbyterian Church, Toronto.[1] The four subsequent conferences of this Joint Committee, up to and including that of December, 1908, were held in the Metropolitan Methodist Church of Toronto. During those years they were divided into sub-committees to deal with: (1) doctrine; (2) polity; (3) ministry, including term of pastorate; (4) administration; and (5) law. A most excellent spirit prevailed in the Joint Committee in their work throughout the five years. If there were differences they were friendly, and there was not a single instance of the vote of a Church against a Church. E. Lloyd Morrow,[2] who represents the opposition to the Union Movement which led to the United Church of Canada, says, "the action of the Presbyterian General Assembly has always been overwhelmingly in favour of Union, despite growing opposition in the Presbyterian Church."

At the London, Canada, meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1906 an effort was made to get the Assembly to favour federal or co-operative union, but this was defeated by a vote of 179–22. This same Assembly invited the Anglican and Baptist Churches to join in the negotiations. The former replied in the language and spirit of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, while the Baptists indicated that they had a special mission of their own to carry out. The Anglican Church of Canada in 1888 had issued a general manifesto calling for Church union in Canada, and Bishop Williams, who represented that Communion before the 1906 Assembly, reminded the Presbyterians of this Manifesto. That incident calls to mind the feeling of Bishop Charles Wordsworth, of the Scottish Episcopal Church, when his Church was more or less omitted in the Scottish Re-union movements of his day.

On Friday, December 11th, 1908, the Joint Committee on Union, having arrived at a Basis of Union, adopted the same, and submitted to to the three Churches concerned.[3] The Basis of Union of 1908, with the exception of minor changes and the addition of an Article of Prayer numbered XIII in the present-day Basis, is the same as that which constitutes the doctrinal and polity basis of the United Church of Canada. We shall make a more detailed study of that Basis presently.

It is from this time on that opposition to organic union took a rather determined aspect amongst the Presbyterians. Their Assembly however, strongly in favour, sent the proposed Basis of Union down to the Presbyteries in 1910, and instructed the Presbytery clerks to report the decisions reached to the General Assembly not later than May 1st, 1911. Of the seventy Presbyteries of the Church, sixty-seven voted on the question. Fifty voted approval, while twenty did not give approval in the form required under the Barrier Act. Thereupon the Assembly passed the propositions down to the sessions and

[1] *United Church of Canada*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[2] Morrow, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
[3] *United Church of Canada*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7.

the congregations, for their judgment. The General Conference of the Methodist Church voted its approval in 1910, and passed the whole question on to the Official Boards and membership of the Methodist Churches. The Congregational Union in 1909 voted approval, and likewise sent the question on to the various congregations for their judgment. The result of the voting in this particular connection was such that the Congregational Union resolved that the action taken was sufficient to indicate that they were ready to enter into the union, and that they would now wait until the other negotiating bodies had had an opportunity of testing to a similar degree their constituencies.[1] The General Conferences Special Committee of the Methodist Church declared that they were satisfied that the Methodist Church was preparing to proceed to union with the three negotiating Churches on the Basis of Union agreed upon by the Joint Committee.[2] The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church resolved that because of the size of the minority they were not yet convinced that organic union was the best method of expressing the unity sincerely desired by all, and therefore, instead of immediately proceeding to consummate the union, they would counsel further conference and discussion, until practically unanimous action could be secured.[3]

Throughout the several years[4] following, which include the period of the Great War, with all the delays which that conflict forced, in connection with all forms of constructive Christian work, the three Churches concerned, in their National bodies, marked time from year to year as with regard to the question of re-union. The Congregationalists and Methodists reappointed their union committees each year, and the Methodist Church held itself ready to call a special session of its General Conference to consummate the union should the occasion arise.

In June, 1921, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in session at the St. James's Square Church, Toronto, passed an important resolution, which we quote in part :

> " (1) That whereas the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada has already by a large majority expressed itself in favour of Organic Union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches of Canada—
>
> That whereas two appeals to the members and adherents of the Presbyterian Church in Canada have resulted in a similar way—
>
> That whereas, during the time when by general agreement the matter of Union was not discussed, nothing has occurred to change the mind of the Church, but rather to confirm and strengthen its previous decision—
>
> Therefore, be it resolved that this General Assembly take such steps as may be deemed best to consummate organic union with the above-named Churches as expeditiously as possible.

[1] Year Book, 1910–1911, p. 31.
[2] Minutes, July 16th, 17th, 1912.
[3] Minutes, 1912, pp. 45–46.
[4] For a careful review of the events of these years see *United Church of Canada*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 7–14.

"(2) That a representative committee be appointed, with instructions to confer with the negotiating Churches, and to carry out the policy of this Assembly, and to report to the next General Assembly."[1]

As a result of the favourable action of the Presbyterians, the Congregational Union, in its National Convention of 1921, expressed great joy, and instructed their Committee to take such action as might be necessary to enter into corporate union as speedily as possible. The General Conference of the Methodist Church took favourable action in October, 1921, and asked that a Joint Committee be appointed to prepare the needed legislation for the statutory incorporation of the United Church of Canada. The Joint Committee on Church Union met October 21st, 1921, at the Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto. It was at this meeting that the three official representatives of the General Council of Union Churches first met with the representatives of the other negotiating Churches. In 1908 the first local Union Church had been organized in Western Canada. The Home Mission Boards of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist Churches had encouraged the formation of these Union Churches, practically assuring them that the Dominion-wide union would certainly be realized at a not distant date. With these assurances many Union Churches were formed. In 1912 they created the General Council of Union Churches of Western Canada. It was from this General Council that the three delegates came to the meeting of the Joint Committee on October 21st, 1921. These delegates announced to the Joint Committee that the local Union Churches were ready to enter the contemplated union.

Before proceeding to a review of the final acts which led to the consummation of the union, it will be well to take a few glimpses of the struggle to convince the constituencies of the Churches involved either as to the desirability or the undesirability of their becoming one Church. Dr. E. Lloyd Morrow has made an excellent collection of the arguments used for and against union.[2] He draws upon the publications of the Churches, each of which issued literature for educational purposes, and he assembles the opinions of many leaders. The result has a distinct historical as well as argumentative value. The arguments or motives in favour of union, as cited by Morrow, are :

I. Signs of the times indicating the trend of Divine Providence are a revelation of the will of God in favour of organic union. The Lambeth Appeal, the Proposed World Conference on Faith and Order, and union movements in various parts of the world are cited in substantiation of this statement. The Church needs to be reorganized in the light of modern demands.

II. Organic union is a fulfilment of the New Testament teaching, and particularly the prayer of Jesus 'that they all may be one.'

[1] See Morrow, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] Morrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–113. In this connection see also articles by Charles Clayton Morrison, *The Christian Century*, Chicago, April 26th, May 3rd, and May 10th, 1928.

Schismatic churches are not justified by New Testament teaching. Except the world can see the unity, there is no effective unity.

III. Organic union is needed to show the world our spiritual unity. A divided Church cannot speak with effect to a League that proposes to unite the nations, or for the production of such a League. You must have an organic union front on spiritual unity in order to be powerful as a Church, and to bring united strength to bear upon the problems of the day. The Church is Christ's body. A number of struggling churches only multiply the sense of weakness which the world perceives, and cannot give an impression of strength.

IV. Those who oppose this outward conformity of the Church do thereby sin. The Lord Christ has something better in mind than mere Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, or Methodism. It is sin to refuse to help to heal the rents in the body of Christ. "With many, probably the majority, of anti-unionists, the real spring of their opposition to union is the feeling of superiority they profess to entertain toward Methodists morally and spiritually. This is, of course, sheer self-righteousness."[1]

V. Denominationalism is obsolete. The time for consolidation has come, and must not be blocked by tradition, sentiment, prejudice, obscurantism, and the like. Denominational differences hinder the work of Christ. All essential doctrines of the Presbyterian faith are to be found in the Basis of Union. Everything that is vital to the Presbyterian system of government is retained: Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and General Assembly remain in the United Church, constituted in a similar way with similar functions of government. The names "Conference" and "General Council" are substituted for Synod and General Assembly. Union in Saskatchewan is an accomplished fact. Not to go on with union would be treason to our Presbyterian people and unfaithfulness to the negotiating Churches with whom we have entered into contract. In the Province of Manitoba there are now seventy Presbyterian charges, as against one hundred forty-eight that are union. In the whole of Canada there are three thousand preaching places that are union. If general Church union is not consummated it would be a grave reflection on the Presbyterian Church, a very great shock to many union and co-operative causes in which thousands of Presbyterians have joined in expectation that they would become part of the United Church, and any failure would be a serious blow to Canadian solidarity.

VI. Organic union is a national enterprise with its goal a united Protestant Church.[2]

VII. Union is the spiritual duty of the Church. It is therefore the will of God.

VIII. Organic union is the people's movement. It is the people

[1] Morrow here quotes Prof. Kilpatrick of Knox College, in *The Toronto Star*, March 9th, 1923.

[2] One of the tendencies since the Great War, and a chief factor leading to the union of the Churches in many lands, is the rise of the nationalistic spirit. See p. 365 *ff.*

first, and not the clergy, who are demanding it in Western Canada. The people should not be expected to support any denominational enterprises.

IX. Organic union means Christian economy both for home work and for the work of foreign missions.

X. Christian expediency argues for unity. Having sanctioned at least three thousand instances of Presbyterians entering into union enterprises, it is equally right that the whole Presbyterian Church should enter into the proposed union.

XI. Organic union will be the fulfilment of a contract. In 1916, and again in 1921, the General Assembly decided on union as its policy. On the strength of this many advances relative to union have been made on all sides. Not to proceed would be to go back on the unionists' word of honour.

XII. Organic union is needed for those who are coming to Canada. We need to present to them a constructive program.

Inasmuch as the organized opposition to the Union of the three Canadian Churches was wholly confined to the Presbyterians, the arguments which Mr. Morrow has set down against union are taken wholly from Presbyterian sources. The motives against Union as he states them are in substance :[1]

I. The signs of the times do not indicate that God wills or desires organic union. Federation or statesmanlike co-operation is a more reasonable deduction. The Lambeth appeal is diplomatically ambiguous in language. It is a known fact that many of the Bishops at Lambeth would have preferred federation.[2]

II. The history of the movement in Canada is an argument against the Union proposal. In a review of the past events an attempt is made to show that the Presbyterian minorities were ignored.

III. Miscellaneous arguments are set forth against a "Big Merger Church." It would be as merciless as a big trust. Its resolutions would be stereotyped. It would be a sand heap of compromises in doctrine and polity. The proposed obliteration of the Presbyterian Church by an Act of Parliament is an immoral attempt to deny civil and religious liberty. Organic union means disunion. The Big Church will produce laxness in the pulpit and lethargy in the pew. Organic union means disloyalty to ordination vows.

IV. Mechanical unification of Christendom is not supported by the New Testament or the prayer of Jesus. Denominations have their legitimate place in spirituality. This argument is said to be supported by the world's greatest scholars. Professor Denny, Dean Shailer Matthews, and Dr. Joseph Parker are quoted as being in favour of sects or denominational divisions. It is argued that, if

[1] It should be remembered that Mr. Morrow, who collected these anti-union arguments, is himself opposed to organic union as it was then proposed in Canada.

[2] Anglican leaders deny this allegation.

the Bible does teach organic union in that primitive age and land of peasants and the like, should we of the twentieth century adopt it any more than we would adopt the agricultural methods of that ancient day?

V. Separate Churches are preferable to the one big Union Church. Biology is said not to be in favour of amalgamation. Nature favours co-operation, not organic union. Separate denominations are present in the world as mighty facts, and their achievements are their justification. Presbyterian loyalty is not sectarianism. Separate denominations create, inspire, and preserve religious patriotism. We Presbyterians are not guilty of obscurantism, sentimentalism, or prejudice.

VI. This Union is not acceptable because of its Basis.

VII. Economy and thrift are dubious arguments for union. They indicate materialism and reflect the commercial character of the age.

VIII. The West (of Canada) does not need organic union. Statesmanlike co-operation and federation are sufficient.

IX. Organic union is opposed because it is unnecessary. This point is argued in connection with the Colleges, Home Missions immigration, social service, evangelism, and Foreign Missions.

X. Organic union is opposed because no other scheme has ever been seriously considered.

Inasmuch as the United Church of Canada Act[1] provided that the Churches could vote by congregation and not by pastoral charges, some of which included two or more congregations, it is of interest to note the whole number of concurring and non-concurring congregations that there were in the three larger groups that entered into the Union on June 10th, 1925. A brief summary of the situation as it existed on that date is as follows:[2]

Denomination.	*Total Congregations.*	*Entering Union.*	*Non-concurring.*
Congregational ...	174	166	8
Methodists ...	4797	4797	0
Presbyterians ...	4512	3728	784
	9483	8691	792

With regard to the Presbyterians, the minority of whom by organized opposition secured the necessary legislation for the assignment to them of a certain portion of the Presbyterian Church property and enabling them to carry on what is called the Continuing Presbyterian Church of Canada, an analysis[3] has been made on the percentage basis

[1] Bill Number 18, 1925, enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario.

[2] See *Analysis of Votes on Church Union*, issued by the Bureau of Literature and Information of the Joint Committee on Church Union, Toronto, Ontario, 1925.

[3] *Idem.*

to show just what portions of the former Presbyterian Church did not concur. The result of that analysis shows :

Congregations in self-sustaining charges non-concurring	27.44%
Congregations in aid-receiving charges and missions non-concurring	9.74%
Membership of the Presbyterian Church in Canada which voted non-concurrence	30.18%
Congregations which voted non-concurrence	17.37%

Of the seven hundred eighty-four Presbyterian congregations non-concurring by June 10th, 1925, four hundred ninety-two, practically all of them self-sustaining, were in the Province of Ontario. It will be seen that the chief seat of opposition amongst the Presbyterians was to be found in the prosperous, and for the most part urban, congregations. It is reported that the Continuing Presbyterian Church, emerging by its own choice as an independent Church, is showing signs of remarkable activity and of healthy growth since 1925. The United Church, according to equally well-authenticated reports, is meeting with correspondingly greater success.

The inauguration of the United Church of Canada took place at a remarkable out-of-door service in the Arena at Toronto, June 10th, 1925. At the three services on that day there were twenty-four thousand people present. A very impressive ceremony was carried out. At a certain point in the service the Presbyterian Moderator, the Rev. George C. Pidgeon, the Methodist General Superintendent, the Rev. S. D. Chown, the Congregational Union Chairman, the Rev. J. W. Pedley, and the Chairman of the Local Union Churches, each stepped forward, and in a brief pre-arranged statement gave first what is common to all the Churches, and then what is the characteristic contribution of the Communion he represented to the joint inheritance. The general form of this statement thus made by each of these four representatives was as follows, the space for the statement of the group's specific contribution being left blank in the copy herewith presented :

> " According to the grace given unto our fathers, as witnesses to the Apostolic Gospel and standard-bearers of the Church commissioned to make disciples of all nations, more especially in the manifestation of the Spirit receive ye our inheritance among them that are sanctified."

In the blank space of the foregoing the Presbyterian Moderator inserted, " in vigilance for Christ's Kirk and Covenant, in care for the spread of education and devotion to sacred learning." The Methodist General Superintendent inserted the words, " in evangelical zeal and human redemption, the testimony of spiritual experience, and the ministry of sacred song." The Congregational Union Chairman added, " in the liberty of prophesying, the love of spiritual freedom, and the enforcement of civic justice." The Chairman of the General Council of Local Union Churches said, in characterizing their contri-

bution, "in the furtherance of community-life within the Kingdom of God, and of the principle, in things essential unity, in things secondary liberty." To all of the foregoing the people responded: "We glory in the grace given unto us in this goodly heritage."[1]

From Thursday, June 11th, to Wednesday, June 17th, 1925, the First General Council of the United Church of Canada, thus so auspiciously inaugurated on June 10th, met in three daily sessions, except Sunday, June 14th, in the Metropolitan Church of Toronto. During the course of the sessions of this Council the Rev. Dr. S. D. Chown asked that he be not nominated for the Moderatorship of the new Church, and moved that the Rev. Dr. George C. Pidgeon, Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, be elected. The next day Dr. Chown was unanimously appointed as Chairman of the Commission on permanent organization. The Rev. T. Albert Moore, who was Secretary of the Methodist Commission on Social Service and Evangelism, was unanimously elected secretary of the General Council of the United Church.[2]

In the Doctrinal Basis of Union finally adopted for the United Church of Canada there were Twenty Articles upon the following subjects: God; Revelation; Divine Purpose; Creation and Providence; the Sin of Man; the Grace of God; the Lord Jesus Christ; the Holy Spirit; Regeneration; Faith and Repentance; Justification and Sonship; Sanctification; Prayer; The Law of God; the Church; the Sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper; the Ministry; Church Order and Fellowship; the Resurrection, the Last Judgment and the Future Life; and Christian Service and the Final Triumph.[3]

When constructing this Basis of Twenty Articles, the sub-committee of the Joint Committee made use of the *Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith*, published by the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.[4] The first eleven articles were taken almost entirely from the brief American Statement of the Reformed Faith. This is also true of Article XIV. In the first meeting of this sub-committee on doctrine, they divided themselves into four sections, namely, Winnipeg, Montreal, Toronto, and Halifax. The leader of the Montreal section was the Rev. Dr. Scrimger. Under his guidance that group brought in a

[1] See *The Inaugural Service of the United Church of Canada*, Toronto, June tenth, MCMXXV.

[2] The chairmen and secretaries of important sub-committees of the Joint Committee on Church Union were as follows:

Law and Legislation Committee.—Chairman, Hon. N. W. Rowell, K.C.; Legal Secretary, Mr. R. B. Whitehead.

Literature and Information Committee.—Chairman, Mr. John F. MacKay; Secretary, Rev. R. J. Wilson, D.D.

On Taking the Vote Committee.—Secretary, Rev. J. E. Edmison, D.D.; Field-Secretary, Rev. J. W. Woodside, D.D.

Finance Committee.—Chairman, Sir James W. Woods; Secretary, Rev. S. W. Dean; Treasurer, Mr. H. W. Barker.

The above list appears on the printed program, *The First General Council*, Toronto, June 10th–17th, 1925, p. 25.

[3] *United Church of Canada*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 15–18.

[4] E. Lloyd Morrow, *op. cit.*, for this "Brief Statement" printed in full in Appendix I.

document containing Fifteen Articles of Faith. In the Final Doctrinal Basis of Union, Articles XV and XVI, dealing with the Church and with the Sacraments, are quite like those proposed by Dr. Scrimger. Article XII on Sanctification had Dr. Scrimger as the chief author of its first part, while the sentence reading, " And we believe that in this growth in grace Christians may attain that maturity and full assurance of faith whereby the love of God is made perfect in us," was suggested by Chancellor Burwash of the Victoria Methodist Church of Toronto. Article XIII on the subject of Prayer was added later to the Basis to meet the objections of the Anti-Unionists, who criticized the omission of an Article on Prayer. The Article as it now stands is largely modelled after the Lord's Prayer. Article XIV, " The Law of God," was put in the Basis at the behest of the Methodists, who asked for a pronouncement in the interests of Christian Ethics. It was Article XV, " On Baptism," which threatened to give cause for serious division. The Presbyterians objected to the baptism of children irrespective of the parents' character or church membership. Then Superintendent Carmen, a Methodist, made a happy suggestion which led to the statement as it is now found, namely, " The Proper Subjects of Baptism are believers, and infants presented by their parents or guardians in the Christian Faith." The Westminster Confession and Standards were not used as a basis of discussion in constructing and assembling the Twenty Articles of Doctrine of the United Church of Canada.[1]

(5) ECUMENICAL METHODIST CONFERENCES

The Ecumenical Methodist Conference, whose beginnings and previous meetings we have already noted, has assembled as follows in the present century: in September, 1901, in Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London; from October 4th–17th, 1911, in the Metropolitan Church in Toronto, Canada; and from September 6th–16th, 1921, in Central Hall, Westminster, London.

(6) THE BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE

In 1905 the Baptist World Alliance held its first meeting in London. This is a purely voluntary organization, with advisory powers. Any Baptist who is appointed by a regular Baptist organization may become a member. It meets every five years, except as it was prevented by the late war. It met at Philadelphia in 1911, and at Stockholm in July, 1923. At the latter meeting there were two thousand five hundred fifty delegates from forty-five countries. They set forth the Baptist viewpoints relative to Christian Unity and

[1] E. Lloyd Morrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–121.

Religious Liberty. They only favour co-operation in so far as there is agreement, and are opposed to coercion beyond this point. The formal statement which they adopted relative to Christian Unity was as follows :

" Baptists have ever held all who have communion with God in our Lord Jesus Christ as our Christian brethren in the work of the Lord, and heirs with us of eternal life. We love their fellowship, and maintain that the spiritual union does not depend upon organization, forms, or ritual. It is deeper, higher, broader and more stable than any or all externals. All who truly are joined to Christ are our brethren in the common salvation, whether they be in the Catholic communion, or in a Protestant communion, or in any other communion, or in no communion. Baptists, with all evangelical Christians, rejoice in the common basic beliefs : the incarnation of the Son of God, His sinless life, His supernatural works, His Deity, His vicarious atonement, and resurrection from the dead, His present reign and His coming kingdom, with its eternal awards to the righteous and unrighteous.

" To Baptists it is entirely clear that the direct relation of the soul to God, or the universal priesthood of believers, is the basis of the New Testament teaching as to the Church and the ministry. Christian unity, therefore, as Baptists understand the New Testament, is a result of the operation of the Holy Spirit arising from a common faith in Christ, enlightened by a common understanding of His Teachings, inspired by a common vision of the ends of the Kingdom of God, and issuing in a free and voluntary co-operation in the execution of the will of Christ. Christian unity is thus a flexible principle, adapting itself to every situation. It admits co-operation so far as there is agreement, and abstains from all coercion.

" The implications of the voluntary principle based upon the universal priesthood of believers in their bearing upon Christian unity are clear. Baptists cannot consent to any form of union which impairs the rights of the individual believer. We cannot unite with others in any centralized ecclesiastical organization wielding power over the individual conscience. We cannot accept the sacerdotal conception of the ministry which involves the priesthood of a class with special powers for transmitting grace. We cannot accept the conception of ordination made valid through a historic succession in the ministry. As Baptists understand the New Testament, all believers being priests unto God, ministers can possess no further sacerdotal powers. They are called to special tasks of preaching and teaching and administration. They remain the spiritual equals of other believers in the Church. Again, the principle of the universal priesthood of believers involves the direct authority of Jesus Christ, our great High Priest. Christian unity, therefore, can only come through obedience to the will of Christ, as revealed in the New Testament, which Baptists must ever take as their sole, sufficient, certain, and authoritative guide."[1]

[1] See *Report of the Baptist World Alliance*, Third Congress, Stockholm, 1923, p. 223 *ff.*

(7) LUTHERAN WORLD CONVENTION

In August, 1923, the first Lutheran World Convention was held at Eisenach, Germany. The following doctrinal statements were unanimously adopted :

> " The Lutheran World Convention acknowledges the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the only source and infallible norm of all Church teaching and practice ;
>
> " And sees in the Lutheran Confessions, especially in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism, the pure exposition of the Word of God."

An Executive Committee of six was appointed for Continuation work. They are to prepare for the next World Convention.

(8) INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL

The first International Congregational Council met in London in 1891. This Council was immediately occasioned by a suggestion made at the Jubilee Celebration of the founding of Congregational Churches in the Province of Victoria, Australia, in the City of Melbourne, in 1888. Previous moves toward international organization had been made as follows : an article relative to an ecumenical council appearing in a *Congregational Quarterly* in 1874 ; a discussion of a similar proposal in the Triennial National Council of Congregational Churches at St. Louis in 1880 ; and the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec passing a resolution in 1884, asking the Congregational Union of England and Wales to consider the possibility of a General Council, and to convene one if they thought best. The English Union acted favourably, and recommended correspondence with all Congregational Churches, including the foreign mission fields. In 1889 the American Council at Worcester, Massachusetts, unanimously adopted the proposal which was presented to them by Dr. Mackennal. The Council was to consist of one hundred Americans, one hundred English, and one hundred delegates from other parts of the world. The subjects discussed by them at their first meeting included, " Congregationalism in Relation to the Nation," " Congregationalism as Affected by Church and State Relations," and " The Federation of the English-Speaking Peoples."

Succeeding Councils have been held in 1899, 1908, and in Boston in 1920. At the latter meeting there were approximately three thousand registered delegates, coming from the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, Tasmania, China, India, Japan, South Africa, South America, and Spain. Most of the subjects discussed had to do with the Christian World Task and the Christianization of nations and of international relations.

(9) INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

The representative leaders of liberal Christianity, such as the Unitarians, after preliminary arrangements made by correspondence, held their first Congress in London in 1900. Their most recent international Congress was that held at Prague, September 4th–8th, 1927. Chief Justice William Howard Taft, the ex-President of the United States, was elected President by acclamation.

(10) MEETINGS OF THE WORLD ALLIANCE OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES HOLDING THE PRESBYTERIAN SYSTEM

The World Alliance of the Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System[1] has held meetings as follows: at Glasgow, in 1896; at Washington, D.C., in 1899; at Liverpool, in 1904; at New York, in 1909; at Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1913; at Pittsburg, Pa., in 1921; and at Cardiff, Wales, from June 23rd–July 2nd, 1925, With the exception of the first meeting of the World Alliance on July 3rd, 1877, this twelfth meeting was the one of outstanding importance. It took the form of a celebration of the Jubilee of the Alliance. Many notable addresses from within and without the Reformed Churches were made. In the sessions of June 26th seven remarkable papers were read dealing with Church Union. The Rev. John M'Naugher was the retiring President; the Very Rev. J. N. Ogilvie the newly-elected President; and the Rev. J. R. Fleming the executive secretary. The published report of the proceedings of this Council has exceptional historical value.

[1] See p. 162 for previous treatment of Alliance. See also *Proceedings of the Twelfth General Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, held at Cardiff*, 1925. Edited by Rev. J. R. Fleming, D.D., Edinburgh, 1926.

CATHOLIC NEGOTIATIONS AND APPROACHES TO UNITY IN THE PRESENT CENTURY

" Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah : for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church ; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

—S. Matthew, xvi, 16–19.

" But he turned and said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan : thou art a stumbling block unto me : for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men."

—S. Matthew, xvi, 23.

" But when Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to the face, because he stood condemned."

—Galatians, ii, 11.

" Whatsoever things ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven : and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

—S. Matthew, xviii, 18–20.

" Rising above all bigotry and party spirit, he (Paul) proclaimed in his most polemic epistle, the great principle : ' In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision '—may we not add, in the same spirit, Neither immersion nor pouring, neither episcopacy nor presbytery, neither Lutheranism nor Calvinism, neither Calvinism nor Arminianism, neither Romanism nor Protestantism, nor any other ism—availeth anything, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God."

—Dr. Philip Schaff in an address before the World Evangelical Alliance at Copenhagen, 1884.

CHAPTER IX

Catholic Negotiations and Approaches to Unity

(1) THE ANGLICAN AND EASTERN CHURCHES

In 1906 the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union was founded. Later this was amalgamated with the smaller Eastern Church Association to form the Anglican and Eastern Association. The first President of the latter was Dr. W. E. Collins, the Bishop of Gibraltar, who was followed in this office by Dr. Blyth, the Bishop in Jerusalem, who had the Bishop of London as his successor. In its membership to-day there are numerous Eastern prelates and some twenty-five Anglican Bishops. This Association did much in caring for six hundred refugee Serbian boys during the War. It extends courtesies and hospitalities to Eastern Church dignitaries visiting England. It publishes that excellent magazine, *The Christian East*, of which Canon J. A. Douglas is the present able editor.[1]

In 1911 Mr. Silas McBee, of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, and editor of *The Constructive Quarterly*, made a very significant "Irenic Itinerary," visiting many important leaders of the Roman and Eastern Churches. He published an account of the journey, including interviews,[2] and really accomplished much in the furtherance of a better understanding among the Churches.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in accordance with the Resolution of the 1908 Lambeth Conference, appointed, in December, 1919, a permanent Committee to take cognizance of the relations of the Church of England with the Eastern Churches.

The American Protestant Episcopal Church, through a Commission appointed to confer with the Eastern Orthodox and the Old Catholic Churches, drew up a "Proposed Concordat" in 1920, intended as a basis for the restoration of Corporate Unity and Intercommunion. In general, this Concordat declared the acceptance of "the traditional and ecumenically received Faith, Ministry, and Sacramental Order of the historic Catholic Church," with the understanding that each Church concerned shall have such local autonomy as will neither alter nor compromise these things. In particular, the authority of the Catholic Church as the teacher of what is necessary to be believed and practised and to enforce the same, is accepted. The canonical Scriptures are accepted as the veritable Word of God, which confirms and illustrates all doctrine and practice necessary to be believed and fulfilled for salvation. In controversies as to the meaning of the Scripture, the Catholic Faith affords a true summary as to its teachings, which are progressively unfolded in the successive parts of the Bible.

[1] See files of *The Christian East* for the source of many of the facts stated in this chapter.

[2] Silas McBee, *An Irenic Itinerary*, New York, 1911.

The Nicene Creed, the decrees of faith put forth by the Ecumenical Councils, and the Sacraments as means of grace, are all accepted. On the basis of the foregoing they solemnly declared their acceptance of the sacramental acts of each other as being true and valid. This Concordat was agreed to by Bishop Herzog of the Old Catholics, by Dorotheos, *locum tenens* of the Patriarchal Throne, and by the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, the Metropolitan Meletios. The governing Synod of Greece endorsed this proposal as " very satisfactory." In October, 1922, the General Convention of the American Protestant Episcopal Church endorsed the work of their Commission and the Concordat which they had proposed.[1]

At the request of the Eastern Churches Committee, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1919, there was drawn up in 1921, " Terms of Intercommunion suggested between the Church of England and the Churches in Comumnion with her and the Eastern Orthodox Church."[2] These suggested terms are set forth in XIII Articles, with an Appendix I, containing the propositions adopted at the Bonn Conference, Appendix II containing the formulæ of ordination in the Eastern and Anglican Churches. This is a most instructive document, since it gives the large measure of consensus now held in common by these two great Churches.

In May, 1922, when it was known that the Eastern Orthodox were giving special attention to the Anglican Orders with a view to their possible sanction, a committee of the English Church Union prepared and published a " Declaration of Faith " in the English *Church Times*, with a preliminary list of fifty-six signatures by prominent Anglo-Catholics. In a short while, the number of signers was increased to three thousand seven hundred fifteen. This Declaration purported to set forth the real Faith of the Anglican Church, indicating that it was similar in spirit and essence to that of the Eastern Orthodox Churches. It was addressed to " His Holiness, the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Holy Synod of the Great Church of Constantinople." It was known that the English Orders were the subject of special investigation, as we noted above ; hence every effort was put forth to rid the Orientals of the wrong impressions they had been receiving through the centuries by what Rome had said in condemnation. To what extent the Declaration influenced the Ecumenical Patriarchate is not known, but in August, 1922, the Patriarch issued an Encyclical stating that they regarded the English ordinations as possessing " the same validity as those of the Roman, Old Catholic, and Armenian Churches possess, inasmuch as all essentials are found in them which are held indispensable from the Orthodox point of view for the recognition of the ' Charisma ' of the priesthood derived from Apostolic Succession."[3] In an address on February 16th, 1923, the Archbishop of Canterbury said that the Declaration did not by itself authorize

[1] *The Christian East*, volume for 1924, p. 93 *ff*. See also, *Documents Bearing on the Problem of Christian Unity and Fellowship*, 1916–1920, S.P.C.K., as a source book for the study of the approaches to unity in the years named.

[2] G. K. A. Bell, *Documents of Christian Unity*, Oxford Press, 1922, pp. 77–89. This is a most valuable book.

[3] *Idem*, pp. 93–94.

intercommunion or mutual administrations. "The importance," he said, "lies in the preparation thus made by the Declaration for future advances."[1]

The American Protestant Episcopal Church on December 13th, 1922, adopted resolutions providing for a certain amount of intercommunion with the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church in America. In February of 1923 the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, announced that the Holy Synod of that Patriarchate had resolved "that the consecration of bishops and ordinations of priests and deacons of the Anglican Episcopal Church are considered by the Orthodox Church as having the same validity which the orders of the Roman Church have, because there exist all the elements which are considered necessary from an Orthodox point of view for the recognition of the grace of Holy Order from Apostolic Succession."[2]

The next month the Archbishop of Cyprus announced that his Church recognized the validity of the Anglican Orders in the same way as it did those of the Roman, the Old Catholic, and the Armenian Churches.[3] In 1924 and 1925 important Anglo-Catholic pilgrimages were made to the holy places and the various headquarters of the Churches of the East. In 1924 the Bishop of Nassau was the leader, and in 1925 Dr. Russell Wakefield, formerly the Bishop of Birmingham, headed the party.

On June 29th, 1925, a Solemn Eucharist was celebrated in Westminster Abbey in response to a petition of the Convocation of Canterbury that the sixteen hundredth Anniversary of the Council of Nicæa be appropriately remembered. There were delegates present from all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches, with the exception of the Jugo-Slav Church, which received its invitation too late. Many high dignitaries of the Oriental Churches were present. Among these were the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria, who later died on his way to inform the heads of the Orthodox Churches of Jugo-Slavia and Roumania of his change of attitude so that it was favourable toward the Anglican Church. He planned to discuss with them the speedy assembly of a Pan-Orthodox Council to hasten union of the Churches involved with the Church of England. In the celebration in Westminster Abbey, the Orthodox prelates and lesser clergy present omitted the *filioque* in their recital of the Nicene Creed, while the Anglican clergy included the same. It was a remarkable demonstration of intercommunion.[4]

(2) THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH RELATIVE TO CHRISTIAN UNION SINCE 1900

While the World War was still in progress, Pope Benedict XV. published in the *Acta Apostolicæ sedis* a prayer for the Christian people

[1] G. K. A. Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[2] *Idem*, pp. 97–98.
[3] *Idem*, pp. 98–99.
[4] *The Christian East*, volume for 1895.

of the East. In this prayer he prayed " We beseech Thee to inspire them to take once more their former place, to form with us one fold, under the guidance of one shepherd." In a *Motu Proprio* of May 1st, 1917, Pope Benedict separated from the *Congregation de Propaganda Fide* the department dealing with all affairs which had anything to do with the Oriental rite, a department which had been created by Pius IX. in 1862. He named the separate Congregation the " Congregation for the Eastern Church." In the preamble he said: " We embrace in our fatherly love all the individual Churches, but the Churches of the East in a special way; their greater age shows such a brilliant light of holiness and doctrine that to-day, after so much time has passed, we see it shining on the rest of the Christian world. . . . When our Churches of the East shall see the supreme Pontiff watching in person over their interests, they will without fail understand that it is impossible for the Holy See to give any greater sign of affection for them." In *Motu Proprio* of October 15th, 1917, he founded in Rome an institution for the advanced study of questions connected with the Orient.[1]

Bishop Charles Gore in 1922 published, under the title of *Catholicism and Roman Catholicism*, three addresses delivered in that year. He severely criticized the imperialistic claims of the Roman Church, and the insistence of that Church that the Immaculate Conception is to be believed equally with the resurrection of Jesus. The stress of Jesus' claim is always moral. Dr. Gore quoted Lord Acton, a Roman Catholic and one of the greatest of English historical students, as saying, with reference to the Vatican Council in 1871: " At the last moment a tract appeared which has been universally attributed to Döllinger, which examined the evidence relied on by the Infallibilists, and briefly stated the case against them. It pointed to the inference that their theory is not merely founded on illogical and uncritical habit, but on unremitting dishonesty in the use of texts. This was coming near to the secret of the whole controversy." Dr. Gore continued by charging that the Church's attitude toward Gallileo " produced an alienation from the Church both of scientific men, and of whole generations of men." In 1887 Newman maintained that the Roman Church was not against the most assured results of Biblical criticism, but in 1893, Bishop Gore points out, Pope Leo XIII. issued a most reactionary Encyclical on " The Study of Sacred Scripture." In Bishop Gore's position, as stated here, we find what may be considered to be the general attitude of the best minds of the Church of England toward the Roman claims. The Lambeth Conferences of both 1908 and 1920 recorded the conviction that in any general scheme of universal Christian re-union the Roman Church must be kept in mind. The Anglican author, the Rev. K. D. Mackenzie,[2] states that any scheme for Christian re-union which omits the Roman Church, or would create a barrier permanently preventing it, would leave the Anglo-Catholic cold in his attitude.

Bishop Gore's reference to the Papal Encyclical, which was exactly

[1] Mgr. Batiffol, article, " Pope Benedict XV. and the Restoration of Unity," *The Constructive Quarterly*, Vol. VI, June, 1918.

[2] *Confusion of the Churches*, Philip Allan & Co., London, 1925.

contrary to any claims made by Newman as to Rome's acceptance of the findings of scholarship, has been abundantly substantiated by further Pontifical pronouncements since 1893, such as the decree of the Inquisition, the Encyclical *Lamentabili*, of July 3rd, 1907, and the Encyclical, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* of September 8th of the same year. These have been followed by further reactionary deliverances against what is termed " Modernism," including the latest Encyclical of Pope Pius XI., issued on January 6th, 1928. All such pronouncements make the possibilities of re-union as between those Churches which accept the findings of the most reverent, scientific modern scholarship and the Churches which cling to Mediævalism in philosophy and theology and to unsubstantiated tradition all the more remote.

On December 23rd, 1922, an Encyclical, *Ubi Arcano Deo*, relative to Christian re-union, was issued by His Holiness, Pope Pius XI. Besides other things, he said, " From this Apostolic centre of the fold of Christ, our look turns next to the many who, either not knowing Christ or not fully holding His teaching or the unity established by Him, are still outside the fold, though destined for it by divine Providence. The Vicar of the Divine Shepherd cannot but repeat and make his own the words which, with their simple brevity are redolent of love and tender pity : ' Them also (the other sheep) must I bring,' and must rejoice too, in the happy prophecy of Christ Himself : ' And they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd ' (John x, 16).[1]

By his issue of the Encyclical Letter *Ecclesiam Dei*, on the occasion of the 300th Anniversary of St. Josaphat, the Martyr, on November 12th, 1923, Pope Pius XI. aroused a storm of criticism and condemnation. In this Letter he indicated a strong yearning on the part of the Roman Church for the return of the Churches of the East to the true fold. He asked to lay aside the ancient prejudices and " not to blame the Church of Rome for the faults of individuals."[2] The Orientals regarded the Pope's invitation as an impertinence, and as a further effort to proselytize and to encourage the formation of more uniate Churches.

(3) THE FIFTH LAMBETH CONFERENCE, 1908

The Lambeth Conference of 1908 created an exceedingly important Committee on the subject of Re-union and Intercommunion. The Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. John Wordsworth, was made the Chairman. On this Committee were such noted leaders as Bishop Gore of Birmingham, Bishop W. C. Doane of Albany, Bishop E. J. Palmer of Bombay, Bishop C. P. Anderson of Chicago, Bishop H. G. Moule of Durham, Bishop L. H. Roots of Hankow, Bishop D. H. Greer of New York, Bishop C. F. D'Arcy (now the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland), Bishop E. S. Talbot of Southwark, Bishop C. G. Lang of Stepney (now the Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England), and Bishop H. E. Ryle of Winchester.

[1] G. K. A. Bell, *Documents of Christian Unity*, *op. cit.*, p. 30 ff.
[2] *Idem*, p. 32 *ff.*

In the Report of this Committee they reaffirmed what was resolved in the Conference of 1897, namely, that " the Divine purpose of visible unity among Christians " is " a fact of revelation."[1] They urged the renewal of the recommendation of that Conference relative to special intercession for unity.[2] They believed that the most fruitful advances would be made in the direction of Home Re-union in England, then with the Orthodox and Separate Churches of the East, then the Old Catholics, followed by the Churches of Scandinavia, especially those of Sweden, and finally the Unitas Fratrum, all in the order mentioned.

We shall review the findings with respect to the various Churches in the same order as they appear in that report.

I. *The Orthodox Eastern Church.* In this connection they reviewed with pleasure all the various exchanges of courtesy with regard to students and in the good will shown to visiting Church dignitaries in the lands involved. They recommended that the Eastern Churches Committee called for by the Conference of 1907 be now made permanent. For the purpose of promoting a fuller and more effective comity, they recommended that it should be the recognized practice of the Anglican Church to baptize children of the members of any of the Orthodox Churches in cases of emergency, provided that it is clearly understood that such baptisms are under no circumstances to be repeated ; and to admit at all times properly qualified communicant members from any of these Churches to Communion in the Anglican Churches when they are deprived of such ministrations in their own Church.

II. *The Separate Churches of the East.* They found that Nestorianism and Monophysitism are probably no longer existent as heresies in these Churches. At any rate, they recommended that steps should be taken to ascertain the exact doctrinal position of the separate Churches of the East with a view to possible re-union. In case it should be found that there was doctrinal agreement, it was advised that Communion privileges be extended or interchanged with them just as with the Orthodox Churches of the East.

III. *The Latin Communion.* Certain marked changes in the Latin Communion were noted. The Latins enter more freely into the general field of modern scholarship which will prove a help toward re-union. They noted that a current literature of the Roman Church showed an increasing interest in the practical concerns of other Churches. Though these changes have taken place, the Committee believed that it was useless to consider the question of possible intercommunion with the brethren of that Church. They warned against marriage with Roman Catholics.

IV. *Separate Churches of the West.* Their progress has been watched with satisfaction, and the mutual offer of the Old Catholics and the Anglicans to receive each other's communicants at their Communion services is rehearsed with gladness. But at the same time they deprecated " very earnestly the setting up of newly-organized bodies of Christians in regions in America, in England, or else-

[1] Res. No. 34 of 1897. See *Official Report of the Lambeth Conference of* 1908, S.P.C.K., p. 169 *ff.*

[2] Res. 35 of 1897. See *Official Report of the Conference of* 1908, p. 170.

where, where a Church with the Apostolic ministry and Catholic doctrine offers all religious privileges."[1]

V. *The Unitas Fratrum.* The status of this Church was discussed in the Conferences of 1878 and 1888. In 1904 the *Unitas Fratrum* framed a special statement relative to their Episcopal succession and other questions, and brought the same to the attention of the Anglican Communion. In 1906 the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a Committee to review the problem. This Committee reported that the claimed Episcopal succession was not proven. Bishop Hasse, President of the Directing Board of the Moravian Church in Great Britain, came before this union Committee by invitation. He challenged the findings of the Archbishop's special Committee relative to his Church's Episcopal succession. The Re-union Committee brought four resolutions dealing with the *Unitas Fratrum* before the whole Conference, which resolutions practically involved the complete absorption of the *Unitas* into the Anglican Church.[2] These resolutions were adopted.[3]

VI. *The Scandinavian Churches.* The Committee rejoiced that the Rt. Rev. H. W. Tottie, D.D., Bishop of Kalmar, had been present at the Conference and before them as the official representative of the Archbishop of Upsala. By extended conversation with this learned representative of the Swedish Church they gained considerable knowledge of Swedish Orders and Ordinals, including special information as to the diaconate and confirmation as they now appear in Swedish usage. All this they incorporated in their report. As for the Churches of Denmark and Norway, they reported sympathetically, but it was believed that a closer approach to the Swedish Church would favourably affect their relations to the other two.

VII. *Presbyterian and Other Non-Episcopal Churches.* The Presbyterian Churches satisfy the first three of the four conditions of an approach to re-union as laid down by the Lambeth Conference of 1888. With respect to the fourth condition, though they do not have "the historic episcopate," they do place great emphasis on ordination, to the end that it may be accomplished with due care, wisdom, gravity, and solemnity, "by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting," by the presbytery. In the Appendix they give extracts of the Presbyterian doctrine of ordination.[4] The Committee concluded that from among the non-Episcopal Churches, the Presbyterian Churches present the most hopeful prospect for negotiations with a view to entrance into closer relations. They find that the Presbyterians themselves declare that there is no especially strong desire on their part to enter into union with the Anglican Churches, except possibly for the desire existing among the Presbyterians of Australia. Then follows the significant statement on the part of the Committee that "in their opinion it might be possible to make an approach to re-union on the basis of the consecrations to the Episco-

[1] *Report of Lambeth Conference of* 1908, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
[2] Dr. Headlam terms these as "one-sided proposals." *Doctrine of the Church and Re-union*, London, 1920, Second edition, p. 293.
[3] *Five Lambeth Conferences, op. cit.*, pp. 334–335.
[4] *Idem*, pp. 434–439.

pate on the lines suggested by such precedents as those of A.D. 1610.[1] Further arrangements would be necessary for the period of transition between the present conditions of separation and full union on the basis of Episcopal ordination." While Anglican Churches must ever contend for a valid ministry, it is no part of their duty, nor is it " their desire to go further and pronounce negatively upon the value in God's sight of the ministry of other Communions."[2] With regard to the other non-Episcopal Communions, the Committee recommended private meetings of ministers and laymen of their own and other Churches, such as those which had taken place under the auspices of the Christian Unity Association of Scotland. The ideal of re-union " should be not compromise for the sake of peace, but comprehension for the sake of truth, and the goal not uniformity but unity."[3]

Finally, the Committee recommended, just as did a similar committee in 1897, that they " should themselves originate such conferences and especially arrange for representative meetings for united humiliation and intercession." They also recommended the course of action suggested in the previous Conference,[4] namely, that the Bishops of the several Churches should appoint Committees of Bishops to arrange for the proposed conference with other Churches relative to re-union, and there should be a report made to the next Lambeth Conference as to the results attained.

In the Resolutions of this Lambeth Conference we find a restatement in substance, sometimes almost verbatim, of the Resolutions of the Conference of 1897 relative to prayer for unity, approaches to the Eastern Churches, the creation of committees of Bishops who arrange conferences, and the attitude towards the Separate Churches of the East.[5] Practically all of the recommendations of the Committee on Re-union were included in the Resolutions, such as the absorption of the *Unitas Fratrum*, the possible use of the Precedent of 1610 in connection with union with the Presbyterians,[6] and provision for the appointment of " a Commission to correspond further with the Swedish Church, through the Archbishop of Upsala on the possibilities and conditions of . . . an alliance."[7]

All of the Resolutions of this Conference were commended in the Encyclical Letter which is the authoritative expression of their mind. It was in this Encyclical that we find expressed for the first time, in connection with the whole series of the Lambeth Conferences, the demand for Christian unity for the sake of the efficiency of Christian missions. " The waste of force in the Mission Field," says the Lambeth Encyclical of 1908, " calls aloud for unity."[8] In this recognition and in the effort to meet the demands for the elimination of waste in the Mission Fields, this great Communion, as well as all the other Churches which are really zealous that the Kingdom forces shall be victorious, has entered a new era.

[1] See pp. 40 *ff.*
[2] *Five Lambeth Conferences, op. cit.*, p. 433. [3] *Idem*, pp. 433–434.
[4] Resolution 40.
[5] *Cf.* Resolutions 58, 59, 61 of 1908 with 34, 35, 36, and 40 of 1897.
[6] Resolution 75. *Cf.* with Section VII of Report of Re-union Committee.
[7] *Five Lambeth Conferences, op. cit.*, pp. 335–336. [8] *Idem*, pp. 313–314.

(4) ENCYCLICAL LETTER ON GENERAL CHRISTIAN RE-UNION OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1920

In January, 1921, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople issued a most important Encyclical Letter, " Unto All the Church of Christ Wheresoever They Be." This was the first significant letter on general Christian re-union ever issued by this Church. It breathed a spirit of concord and love. In it, that Patriarchate declared that it was " most important that love between the Churches should be revived and strengthened, so that they may no longer look upon each other as strangers and enemies, but as relatives and friends in Christ, as ' fellow-heirs of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospel.' (Ephesians iii, 6.) And this friendship and kindly disposition towards each other can, to our mind, be demonstrated and more especially proved in the following manner: (a) by acceptance of a uniform calendar for a simultaneous celebration of all the great Christian feasts by all the Churches; (b) by the exchange of brotherly letters on the great feasts of the ecclesiastical year, when it is customary to do so, and on other exceptional occasions; (c) by a more friendly intercourse between theological schools and the representatives of theological science; and by the exchange of theological and ecclesiastical periodicals and works published in each Church; (d) by a more friendly intercourse between the representatives of the various Churches wherever they be; (e) by the exchange of students between the seminaries of different Churches; (f) by convening pan-Christian conferences to examine questions of common interest to all the Churches; (g) by the impartial and historical examination of doctrinal differences both from the chair and in theological treatises; (h) by mutually respecting the customs and usages prevailing in each Church; (i) by allowing to each other the places of prayer and of cemeteries for the funeral and burial of persons belonging to the other Confessions dying in foreign lands; (j) by the settlement of the question of mixed marriages between the various Confessions; (k) and, finally, by the mutual support of the Churches in the work of strengthening of religious belief, of charity, and the like."[1]

(5) THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE OF 1920 AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

Between the Lambeth Conference of 1908 and the meeting of this most important Conference, events of the most momentous importance transpired.[2] The actions of the 1908 Lambeth Conference relative to unity led to various special semi-official negotiations such as those between the Church of England and the English Wesleyan Church,[3] the Presbyterian Church of Australia and the Episcopal Church of

[1] G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[2] For a complete list of the more important intervening events, with a bearing on Christian unity, see *Chronology*, p. 377 *ff.*

[3] *Documents Bearing on the Problem of Christian Unity and Fellowship*, 1916–1920, S.P.C.K., p. 48 *ff.*

Scotland. The seeming sanction of the Precedent of 1610 as a method of introducing Episcopacy into Presbyterianism aroused opposition on the part of the Anglo-Catholics. But the outstanding events which had a profound influence on the Anglican Church's attitude in the 1920 Conference were: the action of the American Protestant Episcopal Church in its General Convention of 1910, when it passed a resolution calling for a World Conference on Faith and Order; the Kikuyu controversy of 1913–1915; the World War of 1914–1918; and the general Encyclical Letter issued by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to which we have just given our attention. With the intervening events in mind, let us now consider the exceedingly important actions of the Lambeth Conference of 1920.

This sixth Lambeth Conference was held in the Library of Lambeth Palace. The findings and pronouncements of this assembly relative to Christian re-union were made in such a challenging manner and in such genuine sincerity, with a real determination to back up the same by an aggressive campaign in the way of conferences on unity, that this Conference stands out as the most significant gathering of its kind in the modern era.[1]

There are many, both within and without the Anglican Church, who think of it as being a "Via Media" of all the Churches, since in its comprehensive life we find both catholic and evangelical elements bound together.[2] Its constant problem is that it shall not make too great advances in either direction, and thereby preclude re-union with those Churches from whose positions it is separated. The ablest leaders of Anglicanism are fully aware of the necessity of there being unity within their own Church before they can attract others to enjoy their concord. The whole problem of a measure of disestablishment or total severance of their Church's connections with the State presents well-nigh insuperable difficulties, were it not for the progress along these lines made by the Church of Scotland. However, these things may be, the "Appeal to All Christian People" made by the Conference of 1920 aroused an interest in Christian re-union which has reverberated around the world and has accomplished an immense amount of advance in interdenominational understanding and desire for closer relations in the aggregate.

It is impossible to review this Conference adequately here. For

[1] See Fr. Vincent McNabb, *From a Friar's Cell*, p. 36 *ff.* Referring to the Lambeth "Appeal to All Christian People" of 1920, McNabb wrote (p. 60): "They are the most authentic promise of dawn that has yet appeared in the dark night legacied to us by the sixteenth century." Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, Wesleyan leader and ex-president of the English Federal Council, voiced the opinion of Free-Church thought by expressing the highest appreciation. He was quoted by the Archbishop of Canterbury in an address before the Convocation of Canterbury, 1920.

[2] Rev. J. Jebb (afterwards Bishop Jebb), *Sermons on Subjects Chiefly Practical*, etc., London, 1815, p. 50 *ff.*

J. H. Newman, Tracts 38 and 41 of 1834, where the term "Via Media" is first used.

James Cooper, *The Constructive Quarterly*, V, 20, December, 1917.

Adolf Keller and George Stewart, *Protestant Europe, op. cit.* Here Dr. Keller terms the Anglican Church the "Brückenkirche," or "Bridge-Church."

Dr. Friedrich Heiler, article, *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1927.

purposes of comparative study with the Chicago Quadrilateral of 1886 and the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888, which latter was commended by the Conference of 1897, we record here the 1920 re-statement of this suggested minimum basis for the union of the Churches[1] as it is found in " The Appeal to All Christian People."

" VI. We believe the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the wholehearted acceptance of :—

The Holy Scriptures, as a record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith ; and the Creed commonly called the Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal confession of belief :

The divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, as expressing for all, the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ :

A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body.

" VII. May we not reasonably claim that the Episcopate is the one means of providing such a ministry ? It is not that we call in question for a moment the spiritual reality of the ministries of those Communions which do not possess the Episcopate. On the contrary, we thankfully acknowledge that these ministries have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace. . . .

" VIII. We believe that for all the truly equitable approach to union is by the way of mutual deference to one another's consciences. To this end we, who send forth this appeal, would say that if the authorities of other Communions should so desire, we are persuaded that terms of union, having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, Bishops and clergy of our Communion would willingly accept from these authorities a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations as having its place in the one family life. . . . It is our hope that the same motive would lead ministers who have not received it to accept a commission through episcopal ordination, as obtaining for them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship. In so acting, no one of us could possibly be taken to repudiate his past ministry."[2]

We note advance in the Resolutions of this Conference over those of preceding Conferences in many ways. For example, we notice that instead of the " historic episcopate " being the fourth point in the Quadrilateral, they have now stipulated " a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church," etc. The words following are an appeal on behalf of the episcopate. But this change is regarded as being especially significant, though a mistake would be made if it were

[1] In this connection, read *Lambeth and Re-union*, by the Bishop of Peterborough (Frank T. Woods), the Bishop of Zanzibar (Frank Weston), and the Bishop of Hereford (M. L. Smith). This appears to give inside information as to the real spirit and actions of this Conference. Read also " The Ideal of One World-wide Christian Church," L. J. Walker, *Constructive Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 1, for a Roman Catholic view.

[2] *Report of the Lambeth Conference*, 1920, London, S.P.C.K., pp. 133–136.

really thought that the Anglicans had weakened in their conviction that the episcopate is the *bene esse*, at least, of the Church. Since 1920 the general trend in the Church of England has been towards taking an even more rigid stand in this matter.

This Conference recommended that the proper authorities of their Churches should " formally invite the authorities of other Churches within their areas to confer with them concerning the possibility of taking definite steps to co-operate in a common endeavour . . . to restore the unity of the Church of Christ."[1] It was stated that " in view of the prospects and projects of re-union, a Bishop is justified in giving occasional authorization to ministers, not episcopally ordained, who in his judgment are working towards an ideal of union . . . to preach in Churches within his diocese, and to clergy of the Diocese to preach in the churches of such ministers."[2] They did not recommend any general scheme of intercommunion or pulpit exchange.

During some sessions of the Conference an important delegation from the Orthodox Eastern Church was present by invitation. For their presence the Ecumenical Patriarchate was thanked. They were pleased that the Archbishop of Canterbury had appointed a permanent " Eastern Churches Committee."[3] As for the Church of Sweden, they now suggested that, in the light of the findings of their special Commission, properly qualified communicants of the Swedish Church should be admitted to Communion in the Anglican Churches provided no objectionable irregularities are premitted in the Swedish Churches concerned. In the event of an Anglican Bishop or Bishops being invited to participate in the consecration of a Swedish Bishop, this invitation, if possible, should be accepted, subject to the approval of the Metropolitan.[4] Such were some of the more positive pronouncements relative to re-union made by this notable Conference.

To the Lambeth " Appeal to All Christian People," formal and courteous replies were made by many Churches, some of which were as follows : in 1920, the Free Catholics ; in 1921, the Baptist Union, the Presbyterian Church of England, the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church of Scotland (also in 1922), the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, the Primitive Methodist Church of England, the United Methodist Church of England, the Wesleyan Methodist Church of England, and the Moravian Church, British Provincial Synod (also 1923). All of these replies expressed profound appreciation for the spirit shown, and the hope that a way might be found to reach union. The exact status of their ministries is what concerned them most.[5]

With regard to the Free Churches of England, they, for the most part, turned their negotiations over to a union Committee appointed by the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches of England. This Committee made a provisional statement on September 28th, 1920, another statement in May, 1921, and met in joint conference at Lambeth Palace, with representatives of the Anglican Church, in

[1] Resolution 10.
[2] Resolution 12.
[3] Resolutions 18 and 19.
[4] Resolutions 24 and 25.
[5] The full text of these replies is recorded in *Documents of Christian Unity*, G. K. A. Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–155.

May, 1922. On July 6th, 1923, the Church of England, through an important official Committee, presented a very historic " Memorandum on the Status of the Existing Free Church Ministry." In these negotiations the Anglican Committee finally declared that the Free Church Ministries " which imply a sincere intention to preach Christ's word and administer the Sacraments as Christ has ordained, and to which authority so to do has been solemnly given by the Church concerned, are real ministries of Christ's work and Sacraments in the Universal Church. Yet ministries, even when so regarded, may be in varying degrees irregular and defective." For this reason, they must insist upon Episcopal ordination after the manner of the " historic episcopate." The negotiations finally came to an end on September 22nd, 1925, when the Federal Council of the Free Churches made a final reply to the Lambeth appeal. They pointed out that the insistence that Free Church ministers must accept ordination—at least, in the form known as *sub conditione*—at Episcopal hands had no prospect of being accepted by any non-episcopal Church. They continued by saying that " the question of authorization must be answered by some other means than ordination. It is, therefore, to be noted with satisfaction that the Anglican memorandum does not exclude the alternative method of a ' commission ' which shall be (a) mutual and (b) unambiguously not an ordination. This is the line which is being followed wherever to-day union between Churches is being achieved."[1]

(6) THE MALINES CONVERSATIONS

The Conversations at Malines had their beginnings in the autumn of 1921, when Lord Halifax of the Anglican Communion, accompanied by Abbé Portal,[2] visited His Eminence Cardinal Mercier. He asked the Cardinal if he would be willing to receive some of his friends, who, like himself, were anxious to bring about the " rapprochement of the Anglican Church to the Roman Catholic Church." The Cardinal answered favourably, and from December 6th–8th, 1921, the first meeting took place. There were present at this meeting Cardinal Mercier ; Viscount Halifax ; the Very Rev. Dr. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Wells ; the Rev. W. H. Frere, Superior of the Community of the Resurrection ; Mgr. Van Roey, Vicar-General of Malines ; and M. F. Portal, Priest of the Mission, Paris. The second meeting was held March 14th–15th, 1923, with the same six persons present. " But

[1] The documents in connection with these negotiations, except the final conclusions as recorded above, are to be found in *Documents of Christian Unity*, G. K. A. Bell, *op. cit.* The final conclusions are to be found in a booklet published in 1927 by the English Federal Council. The Quadrilateral of 1920, together with the conclusions coming out of the conferences with the Free Church representatives, were used freely in the Sectional conferences of the Lausanne Conference in 1927. This was particularly true in Section III, " The Nature of the Church," and Section VII, " The Unity of Christendom and the Relation Thereto of Existing Churches." See Appendix p. 396 *ff.* Compare the findings of Section VII with the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

[2] Abbé Portal has been very much in Roman-Anglican union for many years. In 1894, under the name of " Fernand Dalbus," he published *Les Ordinations Anglicanes* (Arras Sueur-Charruey, Imprimeur-Libraire-Editeur).

the Anglicans came now with the friendly cognizance of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Roman Catholics with the knowledge of the Holy See."[1] The third meeting took place November 7th–8th, 1923, with additional members, both Roman Catholic and Anglican, present. At the invitation of His Eminence the Cardinal, Mgr. Batiffol, Canon of Notre-Dame, Paris, and H. Hemmer, Curé de la Sainte Trinité, Paris, were present. Dr. Gore, formerly Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Kidd, Warden of Keble College, Oxford, were present at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

At the first Conference general felicitations were exchanged, the Lambeth " Appeal to All Christian People " was read and discussed, especially in connection with the Quadrilateral and the suggestion that the Anglican bishops and clergy were ready to receive such commission or recognition as would commend their ministry to the congregations of other communions. At the second meeting the solidarity of the Anglican Communion, as well as its world-wide extent, were considered. The Anglican spokesman declared that they would insist on the retention of certain characteristic Anglican rites and customs[2] as : (a) The use of the vernacular and the English rite ; (b) Communion in both kinds ; (c) Permission of marriage of clergy ;

At the third meeting both groups presented statements as to their conception of Peter among the other Apostles, as recorded in the New Testament. The Roman Catholics explained that Papal Authority " transcends but does not extinguish episcopal authority ; in exceptional crises, however, the Pope intervenes in full, power."[3] The Anglicans insisted that, while they would grant to the Pope a Primacy of Honour and of Responsibility, they could not admit that he had universal jurisdiction.

The fourth meeting was held May 19th–20th, 1925. At this time the chief subjects for consideration had to do with the theological and polity aspects of the relations between the Papacy and the Episcopate. Various other topics arose as to that which is fundamental and that which is not, the Roman Catholics insisting that whatever emanates from an infallible source cannot be other than fundamental. A fifth meeting was held October 11th–12th, 1926. Cardinal Mercier having died in January, 1926, and the Abbé Portal in June of that same year, little was accomplished except the drawing up of the Report.[4]

While these Conversations took place from the time of the second meeting with the knowledge of the Holy See, and with semi-official co-operation or cognizance on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury, " provided that a corresponding cognizance were given by the Vatican,"[5] the findings of agreements as recorded in the Report represent the work of the individuals at the Conferences, and are not to be regarded as official. Lord Halifax says, " The Pope, after graciously expressing his appreciation of my undertaking a journey to Rome at my age, gave me his personal blessing, extending it to my

[1] *The Conversations at Malines*, 1921–1925, Oxford University Press, London, 1928, p. 18.
[2] *Idem*, p. 24. [3] *Idem*, p. 34. [4] *Idem*, p. 71, especially, and following pages. [5] *Idem*, p. 54.

life's work for Re-union." The Press dispatches of the next day following the publication of Viscount Halifax's "Notes on the Conversations at Malines," from which the foregoing quotation is taken, contained statements, said to have emanated from the Vatican, to the effect that a large number of witnesses were present when Viscount Halifax was in the presence of the Holy Father, and that the blessing was not extended to his work.

The publication of the Report of the Conversations was delayed at the request of the Archbishop, who did not wish for there to be occasion for further controversy at the time when the revision of the English Prayer Book was before the Anglican Church and the English Parliament. The Report, when issued in January, 1928, did arouse much comment on all sides, that on the part of those who charged the proposed revisions of the Prayer Book as being Romish, being very severe since they saw in the Malines Conversations what they believed to be a confirmation of their fears. But such criticisms of the spirit and intent of the Malines Conversations was not warranted since, as the Archbishop of Canterbury had stated, his part in the matter was fully allowed by the Lambeth "Appeal to *all* Christian people" in 1920, and by the principle that the best way to come to an understanding when differences exist is by personal conference, however wide or fundamental the differences may be.[1]

Generally speaking, the Malines Conversations resulted in the Anglicans present agreeing that the Roman Pope is the supreme Bishop with the Primacy of Honour and Responsibility; that the Episcopal hierarchy is *jure divino*; that the very body and blood of Christ are taken in the Eucharist; that the sacrifice of the Eucharist is the same sacrifice as that of the cross, but offered in a mystical and sacramental manner; that communion in both kinds is not a matter of dogma but of discipline; that in the discipline of penitence to be found in both Churches, the sinner is reconciled to God by absolution pronounced by the priest. The disagreements were not recorded.

Pope Pius XI., anticipating the published Report of the Malines Conversations, and following the Stockholm and Lausanne Conferences, issued, on January 6th, 1928, an *Encyclical Letter on Fostering True Religious Union*, addressing it to the clergy "in peace and communion with the Apostolic See."[2] This consists of an unusually weak criticism or condemnation of the unity movements and ideals now to be found in the midst of the other Churches. Much of the Encyclical is given over to this condemnation. These ideals and movements could not possibly have been given better publicity in the Roman Communion. His defence of the Roman Church is likewise weak, being not nearly as able as that to be found in the Encyclicals of Pius IX. and Leo XIII. He commands that the faithful have no part in these false efforts and ideals, and exhorts all to enter the one true Church, *i.e.*, the Roman fold.

[1] See his speech, delivered in the Upper House of Convocation on Feb. 6th 1924, as reported in *The Conversations at Malines, op. cit.*, p. 50 *ff.*

[2] Published in England by Burnes Oates & Washbourne, London.

RAPPROCHEMENTS BETWEEN EVANGELICAL AND CATHOLIC OR SACRAMENTARIAN CHURCHES

"He that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is chief as he that doth serve . . . . I am in the midst of you as he that serveth."

—S. Luke xxii, 26–27.

"Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. . . . But ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, that ye may show forth the excellencies of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light."

—I. Peter ii, 5, 9.

"For he is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of partition, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; that he might create in himself of the twain one new man, so making peace; and might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby."

—Ephesians ii, 14–16.

"Not what, but Whom, I do believe
That, in my darkest hour of need,
Hath comfort that no mortal creed
To mortal man may give;
Not what, but Whom!
For Christ is more than all the creeds,
And His full life of gentle deeds
Shall all the creeds outlive.
Not what I do believe, but Whom!"

—John Oxenham.

CHAPTER X

Rapprochements Between Evangelical and Catholic or Sacramentarian Churches

(1) EPISCOPAL AND NON-EPISCOPAL CHURCHES

SOME MORE RECENT APPROACHES IN HOME FIELDS

In more modern times there has been scarcely any effort on the part of Episcopal Churches, claiming Apostolic succession, and non-Episcopal Churches to seek for union with each other until the year 1882. In that year there was a meeting of a small group of clergymen held at the home of Dr. William Reed Huntingdon,[1] of Grace Church, New York City. This is significant, since it was probably the first instance of rapprochement between the Episcopal and non-Episcopal Churches in the United States.

Following the formulation of the " Quadrilateral " by the National Convention of the American Protestant Episcopal Church in Chicago in 1886,[2] certain leaders of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and of the Church issuing the " Quadrilateral," carried on a correspondence. When it appeared that the latter Church was not ready to treat with the Presbyterian on a basis of equality of validity of orders, the negotiations ceased.

In 1896 " The Churchmen's Union " was organized by members of the Broad Church Party in the Church of England " to encourage friendly relations between the Church of England and all other Christian bodies."

A private conference of Churchmen of various schools was held in December, 1899, at the home of Dr. William Sanday, then Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford University, and with him in the chair. The three groups represented, as reported by Spencer Jones, were : (1) Dissenters : Dr. Fairbairn, Dr. Salmond, Dr. Forsyth, Dr. Davison and Mr. Arnold Thomas ; (2) Low Church : Dr. Sanday, Archdeacon Wilson, Dr. Ryle of Cambridge, Canon Bernard and Dr. A. C. Headlam, who took the place of Dr. Handley Moule who had been scheduled to be present ; (3) High Church : Father Puller, Dr. Moberly, Canon Gore, Canon Scott-Holland and the Rev. Cosmo Gordon Lang, later Bishop of Stepney and now Archbishop of Canterbury. As a result of their informal conference they agreed on : (1) the unique character and work of Christ as a Mediator and Priest ; (2) the individual and corporate priesthood of Christian

[1] Dr. C. A. Briggs dedicated his book, *Christian Unity*, Longmans, London, 1910, to Dr. Huntingdon, whom he characterized as " the chief exponent of Church Unity in America."

[2] See pp. 236.

people , and that (3) the essential unity of the Church is identified with the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit.[1]

Following the Lambeth Conference of 1908, the Connecticut State Meeting of Congregational Ministers appointed a committee to confer with representatives of the American Protestant Episcopal Church. In England certain negotiations were carried on between the Anglican and Wesleyan Churches with no special immediate result.

About the year 1908 preliminary meetings were held at the home of Bishop Brewster, in Hartford, Connecticut, leading to the attempted Episcopal-Congregational Concordat. The Rev. Newman Smyth, a Congregationalist, was especially active in this movement. Mr. George Zabriskie, Chancellor of the Diocese of New York, was asked to draw up the necessary Canon. The House of Deputies and the House of Bishops of the American Protestant Episcopal Church adopted certain resolutions concerning " The Concordat," which was presented to them at the General Convention of that Church held at Detroit in October, 1919.[2]

The American Episcopal Convention at Portland, Oregon, in 1922, adopted, in its Upper House only, the necessary amendment to the Constitution of their Church, and also the proposed Concordat, in amended form. This provided that a Congregational, or any other minister whose Church so desired for their pastor, might be ordained by an Episcopal Bishop with the understanding that he would henceforth be responsible to that Bishop, and that the Church shall declare its purpose to receive in the future the sacraments and ministrations of one who shall have been ordained to the priesthood by a Bishop. These latter requirements proved very objectionable to the Congregationalists, and, moreover, in a test case, when a Congregational minister asked for such ordination from the Bishop of Connecticut, it was refused on the ground that the Canon had not been adopted by both Houses of the Episcopal Convention.

At the King's Weigh House Church of London we have what is perhaps the outstanding effort of modern times on the part of a Congregational Church to be definitely Catholic-Sacramentarian in the " Apostolic Succession " by virtue of special ordination on the part of the Pastor, the Rev. W. E. Orchard, D.D. While this individual Church has those services commonly found in an Evangelical Church, it also has all the furnishings and ceremonial of a " high-Church Catholic " communion including high mass and the reserved elements on the altar when services of worship are not in progress, in whose presence, those who desire, may worship.[3]

There is a general tendency in more recent years amongst many Evangelical Churches to stress worship, to erect more " Churchly " edifices, and to reintroduce into the services of the Church many of those helps, aids, and " adornments of doctrine," which were discarded during the " Puritanic " reform period.

[1] Spencer Jones, *England and the Holy See*, Chap. VI., p. 406 *ff.*

[2] *Documents Bearing on the Problem of Christian Unity and Fellowship*, 1916–1920, London, 1920, S.P.C.K.

[3] W. E. Orchard, *Foundations of Faith*, and *The King's Weigh House Church. Our Principles, Aims and Method.*

(2) ANGLICAN APPROACHES TO SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANISM, 1908–

The Archbishop of Melbourne, Australia, Dr. H. L. Clarke, preached at Ayr, Scotland, on April 24th, 1908, a sermon which dealt chiefly with the steps taken in Australia towards the union of the Presbyterian Church and the Church of England in that country. An important correspondence followed between the Archbishop of Melbourne and Dr. Theodore Marshall, Moderator-Designate of the General Assembly of 1908. As a result, Dr. Marshall devoted a large section of his inaugural address as Moderator to the subject of Re-union with Episcopacy. He declared that if it could be accomplished without violating any essential principles he would greatly favour the attainment of such a goal.[1]

By far the most significant gesture on the part of the Church of England toward the Presbyterian Churches, especially of Scotland, was that included in Resolution Number 75 of the Lambeth Conference of 1908 regarding re-union with non-Episcopal Churches, and making special reference to the Precedent of 1610. It was as follows:

"That in the welcome event of any project of re-union between any Church of the Anglican Communion and any Presbyterian or other non-Episcopal Church, which while preserving the faith in its integrity and purity, has also exhibited care as to the form and intention of ordination to the ministry, reaching the stage of responsible official negotiation, it might be possible to make an approach to re-union on the basis of consecrations to the episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610. Further, in the opinion of the Conference, it might be possible to authorize arrangements (for the period of transition towards full union on the basis of episcopal ordination) which would respect the convictions of those who had not received episcopal Orders, without involving any surrender on our part of the principle of Church order laid down in the Preface to the Ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer."[2]

We have already made a careful study of the precedent of 1610.[3] The union of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland to-day would involve not only the securing of a ministry recognized by all those concerned, but the attainment on the part of the former Church of that measure of freedom from State control which the latter Church has now, and of the willingness to enter into the larger union implied in the Church of Scotland Act, namely, with the United Free Church of Scotland and with any others of Scotland who may later seek the larger union.

In more recent years there has been no greater friend and apostle of Scottish-Anglican union than the Rev. Dr. James Cooper,[4] one-time Moderator of the Assembly of the Church of Scotland. While he had chiefly words of praise for the achievements in Scotland under the

[1] James Cooper, Art. in *The Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXVIII, p. 164 *ff.*
[2] *Lambeth Conferences*, 1908, Official Report, S.P.C.K., 1908, p. 65.
[3] See p. 40 *ff.*
[4] James Cooper, *Re-union—A Voice from Scotland*, London, 1918.

Episcopacy of 1610-1638, he characterized the second period of Anglican Episcopacy in Scotland, 1661–1690, as being a time in which no one can take pride. It was in 1707 that Presbyterianism was secured by Scotland as an indispensable condition of the union of the two Parliaments. Every King of England to-day is required not only to be a communicant of the Church of Scotland, but to pledge himself to defend it as it is now constituted. The Act of Uniformity of 1662, still binding in a modified form within the bounds of England, has prevented the Anglican Church from asking the Scottish Presbyterian ministers to officiate in their pulpits. The 1908 and 1920 Lambeth Conferences and subsequent Resolutions of the Convocations of Canterbury and York have made it possible to resume pulpit exchange. Dr. Cooper, speaking in St. Faith's Chapel, in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, on April 19th, 1918, stated that he took for granted the acceptance of Episcopacy, but that it would be in conjunction with Presbyterian Church polity.[1]

A Memorandum was agreed upon by representatives of the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church of Scotland, and the Scottish Episcopal Church who, at an informal conference held in Aberdeen, March 18th, 1918, suggested that it be used as a basis for similar conferences on the subject of inclusive re-union in other parts of Scotland. The main suggestions included in that Memorandum were: the United Church shall have the Presbyterian system of Church courts and the historic episcopate. Andrew Melville's objections to bishops was a later development not true even to the teachings of John Knox. For doctrine, they will accept the faith of the ancient Catholic Creeds. The Sacraments should be administered according to the authorized forms: beyond this the Presbyteries and Dioceses shall make their own arrangements. The weekly Eucharist will be revived, all other services being left as at present. A period of preparation previous to final union will be necessary, great friendliness being shown meanwhile. The Presbyterians are to be assured that they will be asked to take no steps that will imply doubt in their present Orders. The Anglican Communion has never condemned the validity of Presbyterian ordination. Moderators of Synods will be consecrated bishops. From the beginning of the period leading to full intercommunion there is to be the fullest license for the exchange of preaching as such may be desired. Each Church will freely admit to the participation of its sacraments those who are in full membership in the sister Church.[2]

(3) ANGLICAN CHURCHES IN CANADA

"An Appeal On Behalf of Christian Unity," signed by three hundred of the clergy of the Church of England in Canada, was presented to the laity of that Church in 1914. They enumerated six considerations which influenced them to take this action: the

[1] James Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 83. Also p. 43 of this text.
[2] *Idem*, p. 88 *ff.*

unity clauses passed by the Lambeth Conference of 1908 ; the action of the General Synod of Canada adopting four of the Lambeth Resolutions relative to unity and expressing for itself as a Synod a unanimous desire for unity in 1911 ; the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 and its findings for unity ; the appeals coming from native Churches in missionary lands—the obstacles for unity not being in foreign fields, but in New York, London and Edinburgh ; and the unity movements amongst Protestants.

In view of the foregoing considerations they asked for such practical steps as : (1) the admission of ministers of other Churches, under certain restrictions and by rightful authority, to the pulpits of their Churches ; (2) that permission be given to members of other Communions, *i.e.*, such as are in good standing, by the consent of the Ordinary to communicate occasionally in their Churches. For the realization of these goals they expressed their desire to promote all necessary legislation in their clerical and lay Synods.[1]

(4) THE CHELTENHAM AND MANSFIELD CONFERENCES

The Evangelicals of the Church of England held at Cheltenham, in September, 1917, what is called the First Cheltenham Conference of Anglican Evangelicals. Their aim was re-union, mainly with Nonconformists. One of the findings was : " That the goal to be aimed at is some form of federation rather than anything like organic union." In June, 1918, at a Second Cheltenham Conference, the foregoing position was modified. In their first findings at this second meeting they stated : " That the ultimate goal at which to aim is the union of all believers in Christ in one visible Society," and in the seventh they affirmed : " That episcopacy appears to be that form of Church order on which it is practical to look for Re-union." In 1919, at the Third Conference, the above was reaffirmed, with the added comment that the time had now come for action in the matter of intercommunion and the interchange of pulpits.

In 1918 an important conference was held at Mansfield College, Oxford, between younger Evangelical Anglican clergy and leading Free Church ministers. The volumes reporting these Conferences are valuable contributions to the problem.[2] In 1919 and again in 1920 additional conferences were held at Mansfield College by similar union groups. At these they recommended interchange of pulpits, under due authority ; subject to the same authority, mutual admission to the Lord's table ; and acceptance by ministers of any one denomination of such authorization as will enable them to administer fully and freely in the Churches of other denominations.

The Cheltenham and Mansfield Conferences aroused considerable opposition among the High-Church School of the Church of England. In January, 1920, a large number of the clergy of the latter group

[1] *Church Union Journal*, Edinburgh, No. 24, New Series, June, 1914, pp. 385–386.

[2] See Reports of these Conferences, H. A. Wilson, Chairman, London.

passed and published resolutions relative to intercommunion. These were very much opposed to the findings of the Evangelicals. In March of the same year, the English Church Union presented further resolutions in condemnation. It was on July 6th, 1923, that the representatives of the Church of England appointed to confer with the committee from the Federal Council of the Free Churches of England made their famous pronouncement relative to the valid ministries of the Free Churches.[1] This statement represents the nearest approach made in recent years between a Catholic Church and the non-Episcopal Communions. The Report of Section VII made to the Lausanne Conference in 1927 upon " The Unity of Christendom and the Relation of the Existing Churches," which might have been " received " to have been sent on to the Churches for consideration had it not been for the opposition of a few, suggested co-operation and federation on the basis of the equal validity of the ministries of all concerned.[2]

(5) AUSTRALIAN RE-UNION MOVEMENTS

Australia, like Canada, has had representatives from most of the major Christian denominations amongst her colonizers and settlers since the early days. In the course of time these representatives organized the Churches of their childhood within their new homeland.[3]

In 1906, negotiations were carried on between the Church of England in Australia and the Presbyterian Church, particularly the Church of Scotland Presbyterians, looking to the union of their two Communions. The Archbishop of Melbourne, who was active in this effort, preached afterwards at Ayr, Scotland, to a Church of Scotland group, telling them what had been done. The question of re-ordination of the Presbyterian ministers brought this effort to an unsuccessful termination. The Presbyterians themselves were quite one body except that the Church of Scotland with eleven thousand, three hundred and five members remains separated. In 1886, the Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania entered into a Federal Union. In 1900, the Presbyterian Churches of Australia, excepting the Church of Scotland in Australia, formed a somewhat restricted organic union with one General Assembly over all. The constituting bodies retain a certain amount of local control. In 1907, all of the various Methodist groups united to form one Church. The Congregationalists are one body, as are the Disciples of Church of Christ ; the Baptists ; and the Lutherans.

Australia has had its federations of the Evangelical Churches, state and national, and with these the Church of England very heartily co-operates in many communities. In the Half-Yearly Report of the Anglican Re-union Committee,[4] they state : " The Anglican

[1] See pp. 92, 329 *f.*
[2] See Appendix, pp. 534–536.
[3] See Tables of Denominational Statistics, Appendix, p. 409 *ff.*
[4] See Anglican (Australian) Re-union Committee Papers, IV, p. 7.

Church in Australia is peculiarly well placed for undertaking the initiative in approaching other Australian bodies with a view to Re-union. The Church is not, as in England, hampered by privileges, guaranteed by law, and by an overwhelming weight of numbers; nor does she suffer, as in Canada, from comparative insignificance. Her position here is rather such that while her numbers and tradition guarantee her a special prestige and weight of moral influence, she can yet approach the non-Episcopal Churches on a footing of acknowledged equality. Moreover, her advances towards other Churches have received a most cordial welcome."

There is in Australia, as in all other comparatively newer Christian countries, a very marked freedom from bondage to rigid traditions and the animosities engendered by centuries of civil and religious conflict. Almost contemporaneous with the efforts of the Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists of Canada were those of the same Churches in Australia where they also began to seek organic union each with the other. These three Churches, through their Supreme Courts, each appointed Union Committees which together constituted the Joint Union Committee. This Joint Committee met in special session at Melbourne to take final action on a proposed " Basis of Union " which had been months in the course of preparation. The Committee had been divided into Sections by States, the Victorian Section, by consent, acting as the executive. After much preliminary work, consultation, and preparation, mostly by correspondence, a draft Basis had been drawn up and circulated among the members of the several State or Sectional Committees. It was this draft Basis which formed the basis for the discussion at Melbourne. At this Melbourne Conference,[1] which was attended by between forty and fifty representatives of all the States of the Commonwealth, there was the finest of spirit and the greatest concord. There were earnest discussions and differences of opinion as to several points, but after a three days' session the Joint Committee, on September, 6th 1918, passed the " Proposed Basis of Union," on to the Superior Courts of the three Churches concerned.

This " Proposed Basis of Union " is very similar to the " Basis of Union " adopted by the Joint Committee on Union in Canada, on December 11th, 1908. We have already briefly reviewed the latter Basis and have indicated the sources of its Twenty Articles. The Joint Committee of Australia had the Canadian Basis of Union as the norm for their discussion. It is most interesting to note the *differences* between these two important documents, using for the purpose of comparison the Australian Basis as it was finally revised, September, 23rd, 1921, and the Canadian Basis as now in use. We shall disregard all differences due to adaptation to the two different countries, or inconsequential verbal dissimilarities.

[1] See *Proposed Basis of Union* for the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches of Australia, Doctrine and Polity. As finally revised by the Joint Committee of the Three Churches, September, 21st to 23rd, 1921, Melbourne, Brown Prior and Co., p. 2 *ff.*

CANADA	AUSTRALIA
General	
Hope for a " National " Church.	No corresponding statement.
Doctrine	
Preamble. Scriptures : " primary source and ultimate standard of Christian faith and life." " We acknowledge the teaching of the great needs of the ancient Church."	*Preamble.* Scriptures : " supreme rule of faith and life." " We acknowledge the faith of the Ancient Church as expressed in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds."
Article I, Of God. " unity of the Godhead . . . the mystery of the Holy Trinity . . . three persons of the same substance."	*Article I, Of God.* " three persons in one Godhead."
Article II, Of Revelation. " Holy Scriptures . . . given by the inspiration of God, as containing the only infallible rule of faith and life, a faithful record of God's gracious revelations, and as the sure witness to Christ."	*Article II, Of Revelation.* " only infallible rule," etc., not included. Acknowledge : " the Holy Spirit, speaking in the Scriptures to be the Supreme Judge in questions of faith and duty."
Article III, Of the Divine Purpose. The same, but more brief.	*Article III, Of the Divine Purpose.* The same, but longer.
Article IV, Of Creation and Providence. Identical. Freedom of man's will asserted.	*Article IV, Of Creation and Providence.* Identical.
Article V, Of the Sin of Man. " born with a sinful nature."	*Article V, Of the Sin of Man.* " born with a fallen nature."
Article VI, of the Grace of God. free, all-sufficient Salvation to all men. " We believe that God, in His own good pleasure, gave to His Son a people, an innumerable multitude, chosen in Christ unto holiness, service and salvation."	*Article VI, Of the Grace of God.* free Salvation to all men. No statement as to the " chosen."
Article VII, Of the Lord Jesus Christ. " fulfilled all righteousness " " satisfied Divine justice "	*Article VII, Of the Lord Jesus Christ.* " fulfilled all righteousness " " showed forth the righteousness of God."
Article VIII, Of the Holy Spirit. " proceeds from the Father and the Son."	*Article VIII, Of the Holy Spirit.* Same, except that the phrase given opposite does not appear.
Article IX, Of Regeneration. Identical, save for numbering.	*Article IX, Of Regeneration.* Identical, but Art. XI, not IX.
Article X, Of Faith and Repentance, and *Article XI, Of Justification and Sonship.* Though divided differently, are the same in substance.	*Article X, Of Adoption* and *Article IX, Of Repentance, Faith and Justification.* Though divided differently, are the same in substance.
Article XII, Of Sanctification. Almost identical.	*Article XII, Of the New Life.* Almost identical.

CANADA	AUSTRALIA
Article XIII, Of Prayer. Almost identical.	*Article XIII, Of Prayer.* Almost identical.
Article XIV, Of the Law of God. In substance, the same.	*Article XIV, Of the Law of God.* In substance, the same.
Article XV, Of the Church. "innumerable company of saints. . . . a visible and sacred brotherhood . . . consisting of those who profess faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to Him, together with their own and other baptized Children organized," etc.	*Article XV, Of the Church.* The same.
Article XVI, Of the Sacraments. Baptism and the Lord's Supper. They are signs and seals of "our union to Christ and participation in the blessings of the new covenant." The proper subjects for baptism are believers and their children, and children presented by Christian guardians.	*Article XVI, Of the Sacraments.* Same in substance.
Article XVII, Of the Ministry. Jesus Christ has appointed a ministry. Church recognizes and chooses those whom He calls, and should thereupon ordain them.	*Article XVII, Of the Ministry.* Almost identical.
Article XVIII, Of Church Order and Fellowship. Christ the "supreme and only Head." "believers ought not lightly to separate themselves from its communion."	*Article XIX, Of Church Order and Fellowship.* Christ "the sole head." "Church alone has supreme authority and jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to its doctrine, worship, discipline and government."
Article XIX, Of the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the Future Life. Same in substance.	*Article XX, Of the Resurrection, the Judgment and the Future Life.* Same in substance.
Article XX, Of Christian Service and the Final Triumph. Almost identical.	*Article XXI, Of Christian Service and the Final Triumph.* Almost identical.
No corresponding Article.	*Article XVIII, Of Our Lord's Return.* "We believe that on a day known only to God, the Lord Jesus will come again, and we look for this appearing of the Saviour as the blessed hope of His Church."

The Polity of the United Church of Canada is quite similar to that proposed for the United Church of Australia. In Canada the officials of the local congregation are the Minister, the Session and the Committee of Stewards, the whole constituting the Official Board. The proposed scheme in Australia contemplates a Minister, Elders and Trustees, the whole to be called the Board of Management. In

Australia a Circuit Council is planned for a charge with one or more congregations. The next higher body over the congregation, or charge, in both schemes is the Presbytery, which functions much as does the Presbytery in regular Presbyterianism, or the District Conference in Methodism. Then comes the Annual Conference in both plans. The term of a minister's pastorate in Canada is indefinite, while in Australia the congregation or circuit can renew the appointment at the end of six years and every third year thereafter, the Settlement Committee of the Annual Conference being given the power to bestow or withhold ratification. In Canada the Supreme Court of the Church is the General Council which meets biennially consists of an equal number of ministers and laymen, chosen by the Conferences. In Australia the proposed Basis of Union provides for the General Assembly as the Supreme Court, this to be composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen, half chosen by the Conferences and half by the Presbyteries, the Assembly to meet triennially.

A careful examination of the foregoing differences seems to indicate that in doctrine the Canadian Church is a bit more fundamental than the proposed Australian, and that the satisfaction theory of atonement is found in the former while the moral theory is found in the latter. In polity, the Australian plan is more Presbyterian than that now in operation in Canada. But the similarity of the two Bases is most striking.[1] Both are Arminian as against Calvinistic. It is most interesting to study these Bases as the actual net result of the united action of three of the world's greatest Evangelical Churches. That in two great countries such unanimity could be reached argues well and makes the result all the more significant in the history of Christian Unity, and all the more valuable as a basis of study in the consideration of the modern trend of dogma. The general criticism of both these Bases by modern theologians and ecclesiastical statesmen of the Evangelical School is that they are too prosy and too dogmatically fundamentalist. There are other critics who find them too barren of the ancient theological phraseology which for them has weight because of its having stood the test of centuries, and consequently carrying with it the historical traditions that should forever be conserved.

In September, 1920, the Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in Australia took a vote by ballot on the "Basis of Union" as accepted in September, 1918. The result of this voting was as follows: (1) In the Methodist Church 64 per cent. of the 166,634 Church members entitled to vote, and 66 per cent. of the 14,375 trustees entitled to vote exercised their right. Of those who voted 88 per cent. of the members and 86 per cent. of the trustees expressed themselves in favour of union; (2) In the Presbyterian Church 73,371 of the 73,430 members voted, 29,733 of these being opposed to and 43,638 in favour of union; (3) In the Congregational

[1] The Australians had the Canadian Basis as their guide for formulating their proposed Basis. This renders the similarity of the two Bases none the less impressive, in that both Commonwealths came so near to agreement.

Churches 9,046 voted in favour, 1,795 against union. The number voting is said to have constituted 57 per cent. of the nominal membership and probably 75 per cent. of the effective membership.

Just at this juncture, the Bishops and Archbishops of the Church of England in Australia, having returned from the Lambeth Conference in 1920, transmitted to these three negotiating Churches the Lambeth "Appeal to All Christian People" to seek unity, and included an invitation to send representatives to meet with their own chosen delegates in conference with a view to a wider union of the Episcopal and non-Episcopal Churches of that Commonwealth. The invitation was accepted, and an Interstate Conference on Re-union met, March 28th to 29th, 1921, in the Chapter House, Sydney, the negotiating Churches being represented in the following proportion: Anglican, twelve; Methodist and Congregational, eight each. The more important resolutions passed by this Conference were in part, as follows:

"That while the right of the Church to determine its own policy at any time is recognized, in the opinion of this Conference, in view of all the circumstances, it is expedient that the policy of the re-united Catholic Church be episcopal, provided that (1) the appointment to the office of a bishop be shared in by ministry and laity; (2) that such office be exercised in a representative and constitutional manner, *i.e.*, that in all administrative actions the bishop should be responsible to the representative assembly, conference, or synod of the Church; (3) that such acceptance of episcopacy does not necessarily imply that ministerial authority cannot be otherwise obtained or that episcopacy is the only channel of divine grace."

"That this Conference welcomes the assurance implied under clause four of the Lambeth Appeal, that each group within the re-united Church would be free to retain its characteristic method of worship and service, insofar as such retention is not inconsistent with the fellowship of the whole."

"That this Conference recommends that the conditions for the mutual recognition of Episcopal and non-Episcopal orders and commissions be thoroughly explored by the respective Churches, and to this end recommends the appointment of a Committee by this Conference for the purpose of receiving reports from such Churches."

Very soon thereafter, the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church sent a Memorandum to a special Union Committee with the Bishop of Willochra as its Convener, stating that they could go no further in the negotiations until they had definite information as to the meaning of the Lambeth Appeal's "Commission through episcopal ordination." Were the Anglicans prepared to recognize their Presbyterial orders as being valid as such in the universal Catholic Church? The Bishop's Committee declined to give an answer either way for fear of dividing either the Anglicans or the non-Episcopal ministers.[1] At this point in the proceedings a letter was received from the Archbishop of York[2] stating that non-Episcopal ministers

[1] See *Re-union Committee Papers*, V, pp. 1–3.
[2] *Idem*, p. 3.

" should consent to accept episcopal ordination ' as obtaining for them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship '." Such a letter was not calculated to further the parley peacefully as the result ultimately proved.

The next Re-union Conference was held at the Chapter House, St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, in March, 1922. Little progress was made, but they arranged for a further Conference to be held at Cronulla, N.S. Wales, May 1st to 3rd, 1923. Here they met in accordance with the arrangement. The devotional services were held in the local Anglican Church, while the deliberative sessions met in the Methodist Church. At Cronulla some real progress was made. They appointed the Interim Committee[1] which was given the power to call another Conference. They also created a Joint Australian Council of the Churches Contemplating Re-union, which should have functions somewhat like those of a federation for Christian social service. They believed that further discussions of questions of Faith and Order would prove fruitless, and that they had better devote their attention to " practical co-operation in spiritual work."[2]

This Conference at Cronulla agreed to the following statement as to the manner of ordination :

" The Episcopate in association with the Presbyterian should be accepted for the United Church of the Future as the means whereby the authority of the whole Body is given to the Ministry of the Church. At the same time the Council of the Presbyters and Congregation of the Faithful should be maintained as permanent elements in Ordination, as in other parts of the order and life of the United Church."

" At the instance of the non-Episcopal representatives the following resolution was adopted :

" That this Conference desires it to be recorded that the members of the Conference belonging to the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches, while earnestly desiring and seeking the larger re-union, respectfully intimate to the representatives of the Anglican Church that in entering into the Re-united Church they cannot see their way to accept any commission which, in the form of the rite, implies or may be taken to imply for either party an act of ordination."[3]

So far as Faith and Order are concerned the Australian Churches have not made any closer approaches than those advances indicated in the previous statements, though the subject matter of the proposed agenda of the World Conference on Faith and Order held at Lausanne, Switzerland, in August, 1927, was before them for discussion at the meetings of the Joint Australian Council of Churches contemplating

[1] This Committee consisted of The Bishop of Willochra, Archdeacon Davies, Canon Highes, the Revs. Dr. Macintyre, Dr. S. Angus, Dr. Carruthers, Dr. C. J. Prescott, George Raynor, F. V. Pratt, with the Rev. P. A. Micklem and the Rev. A. P. P. Campbell as joint secretaries.

[2] *Australian Re-union Committee Papers*, VII, Report for May, 1923 to May, 1925, p. 2.

[3] Report of Re-union Conference held at Cronulla, Australia, May 1st to 3rd, 1923, *Australian Christian World* office, Sydney, pp. 7–8.

Re-union which assembled at Melbourne in November, 1923, and again, May, 17th-19th 1925. At the latter Conference most of the seven Mysteries were discussed. The greatest achievements of these two meetings of the Joint Australian Council were the joint statements formulated on Sunday Observance, Marriage Laws and the Presentation of the Gospel to the Industrial World. This Council appears to be the largest official federation of both Episcopalians and Non-Episcopalians for Christian social service, as well as for spiritual work, within any single civic unit.

In 1926, the Presbyterian General Assembly, through Ronald G. Macintyre, the Convener of their Christian Unity Committee, sent a pronouncement, part of which read as follows, to the Rev. Dr. P. A. Micklem, Hon. Secretary of the General Synod Re-union Committee :

" 3. That the Assembly record its opinion that such conferences can only be as between Churches meeting on equal terms, and ought to be unrestricted as to all questions of ecclesiastical order, and further, that the Assembly declare its conviction that closer fellowship and co-operation towards Re-union must be based on the full recognition by the conferring Churches of one another's orders and sacraments, and that such mutual recognition should be accompanied by acts of unity in the fellowship of the Lord's Table, thus exhibiting the holy unity of that fellowship, and as an inspiration to co-operation in the Lord's work.

" 4. That the Assembly feel it due to all parties to those conferences to make it clear that it cannot countenance any proposal which would involve an act of re-ordination, whether absolute or *sub-conditione*, as a condition of ministering in a re-united Church."[1]

Accompanying the foregoing statement, Dr. Macintyre sent a personal letter to His Grace, the Archbishop of Sydney. This letter, dated September 23rd, 1926, read :

" Dear Archbishop :

" I herewith enclose copy of the deliverance of the General Assembly of Australia on the subject of Christian Unity. You will see from the deliverance, especially paragraph 3, that it will be necessary for my Committee to have a definite answer as to whether the conditions laid down in that deliverance are assented to by the representatives of your Church prior to any further conference. I wish to make clear that our Assembly have not refused further conference on the subject of Re-union, but desire to know whether you can meet us on the terms of equality as set forth.

" We are at all times willing and ready for co-operation with your own and other Churches in every matter in which co-operation can help the interests of the Kingdom of God."

In reply to the foregoing communications from the Presbyterians

[1] Taken from a copy of the letter itself. By courtesy of Dr. C. J. Prescott, Methodist Member of the Joint Australian Council, Newington College, Sydney, N.S. Wales.

the General Synod Re-union Committee, through Dr. P. A. Micklem, wrote to Dr. Macintyre, March 18th, 1927, in part as follows :

> " The Committee feels that to press the acceptance of the conditions contained in the deliverance as a necessary basis for future Conference on Re-union is to ignore the very purpose for which such Conferences have already been held and would be held in the future. All the conditions specified involve questions concerning polity and order, of admitted importance and difficulty, on which grave differences of opinion exist and the solution of which cannot be reached by the immediate acceptance of any one particular view to the exclusion of all others, but only by the patient discussion of them on the part of representatives of all the Churches concerned with the frank desire that a way acceptable to all will be found. We frankly recognize that, while on the subjects mentioned in the deliverance the Church of England has inherited principles of its own to safeguard, other Churches, too, may have traditions which they are equally concerned to maintain. But for this very reason we deplore any tendency to foreclose discussion on these questions by the claim that one solution and one only should prevail. It should further be said that so far as the Church of England is concerned no pronouncement of a final or decisive character has been made on the points in question : nor are we at the present juncture in a position to make any such pronouncement without consultation with some more widely representative body such as the Lambeth Conference. We do not, however, see any reason why our inability to make such pronouncement should close the door to future conference and discussion upon these and other subjects connected with unity."[1]

The New South Wales Methodist Conference of 1927, having read the foregoing letter of the Presbyterians, adopted as their own action the following Resolutions of the Executive Committee of the Australian Methodist General Conference Commission on Re-union :

" 3. The Conference notes that the Presbyterian General Assembly urges ' the full recognition by the conferring Churches of one another's Church standing, and of the equal validity of one another's orders and Sacraments, and that such mutual recognition should be accompanied by acts of unity in the fellowship of the Lord's table as conditions of further conference.' This Conference, however, feels that it is premature to insist upon them, at this stage of the negotiations, as indispensable conditions of further conference.

" 4. The Conference believes that further free and unfettered conference, and extended co-operation in all fields of the Lord's Work are the most likely methods to secure such mutual understanding of one another's points of view, and such mutual appreciation of spiritual experience and sympathy as will finally remove all obstacles to complete Re-union."

While the negotiations of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist

[1] From the letter, by courtesy of Dr. C. J. Prescott.

and Congregational Churches of Australia for re-union are thus, at least temporarily brought to an impasse by this action of the Presbyterians, Dr. C. J. Prescott of Sydney reports that the Presbyterians, as individuals, are now entering heartily into all conferences for the promotion of unity and co-operation. There is no reason why the three non-Episcopal Churches cannot now consummate amongst themselves the union which was making such excellent progress in 1920, when the Lambeth proposals caused them to direct their attention to the more inclusive union. In Australia, as in Canada, it is the Presbyterians who have the largest minority opposed to union with the Methodists and Congregationalists. Time, however, may reduce this minority, and the United Church of Australia, as so well outlined in the Proposed Basis of Union promulgated in 1918, will become a reality.

(6) THE LAUSANNE WORLD CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER

The year 1910 saw the Spirit of God moving with power, on behalf of Christian unity, simultaneously amongst the various Communions in different nations. On October 18th, the Convention of the National Congregational Council in session at Boston, Massachusetts, passed an important resolution appointing a special committee which should be ready to consider any overtures for union "in view of the possibility of fraternal discussion of Church unity suggested by the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1908." On the same day the Disciples of Christ in National Convention at Topeka, Kansas, passed a resolution calling for the creation of a similar committee. Almost simultaneously the Church of England in Australia appointed a Commission to seek Conferences on unity with the other Churches of that Continent. In the same year the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. appointed a permanent Committee on Church Co-operation and Union. In the very month, that is, October, certain doctors and clergy of the Orthodox Churches of the East, in session at Athens, took important action relative to the furtherance of general Christian re-union.[1] This was also the year of the great Edinburgh Conference, its sessions having taken place in June. This Conference represented a great climax in unity progress up to that date. The progress of Church unity on the Mission Fields was fully reported and extensively discussed with the result that the imperative demand for unity among the home Churches became especially apparent. Nearly all who attended that Conference returned to their homes determined to further, or to initiate, movements which would remove the scandals of Church division. The inspiration gained at the Edinburgh Conference furnishes the chief explanation for all the foregoing significant denominational happenings, except that among the Greeks.

[1] So reported at the Lausanne Conference in August, 1927, by Professor Hamilcar Alivisatos of the University of Athens.

Indeed it was at Edinburgh that Bishop Charles H. Brent of the American Protestant Episcopal Church was convinced that in order to have a union of the Churches there must be Conferences amongst their representatives who should thereby lead to a greater consensus in matters of Faith and Order. Accordingly, on October 19th, 1910, at the General Convention of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio, Bishop Brent, speaking in favour of a resolution introduced by the Rev. Dr. Manning, now Bishop of New York, persuaded that Convention "to take under advisement the promotion by this Church of a Conference following the general method of the World Missionary Conference, to be participated in by representatives of all Christian bodies throughout the world which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour, for the consideration of questions pertaining to the Faith and Order of the Church of Christ."[1] The Convention appointed a Committee to consider the proposal. In their report they stated: "Your Committee is of one mind. We believe that the time has now arrived when representatives of the whole family of Christ, led by the Holy Spirit, may be willing to come together for the consideration of questions of Faith and Order."

In the course of time, deputations were sent to confer with representatives of various Communions in many countries. To the non-Anglican Communions in the British Isles the Rev. Drs. Newman Smyth, W. H. Roberts and Peter Ainslie came. They conferred with thirty-one groups, all of which promised co-operation in the proposed Conference. In March, 1914, Dr. John R. Mott addressed the Advisory Committee of the various Commissions. The Executive Secretary throughout these years was the American Episcopal layman, Robert Hallowell Gardiner who, though taken by death in 1924, deserves great credit for the actual meeting and final success of the Lausanne Conference.

The World War stopped all promotional activities for the time being. In 1919 further deputations went forth with considerable success. In 1920 a preliminary meeting of the Conference was held at Geneva where there were representatives from forty nations and some seventy Churches. This Conference appointed a Continuation Committee, a Business Committee, and a Subjects Committee. The 1925 Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm, where many of the leaders in the movement on Faith and Order were present, furnished the occasion for making more nearly final preparations for the meeting held at Lausanne. Some of those present at Stockholm assembled at Berne, Switzerland, the next summer, and transacted further important preliminary business with Dr. A. E. Garvie of England in the chair.

When this World Conference finally organized at Lausanne the following were chosen as its officers: President, The Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent; Deputy Chairman, Dr. A. E. Garvie, Congregationalist; Vice-Presidents, The Most Rev. Nathan Söderblom, D.D., Archbishop

[1] *Faith and Order*, Lausanne, 1927, edited by H. N. Bate, London, 1927, Introduction, p. vii.

of Upsala, Swedish Lutheran ; The Most Rev. Archbishop Germanos of Thyatira, Eastern Orthodox ; Pastor Charles Merle d'Aubigné, D.D., Reformed Church of France ; and Professor Dr. Adolf Deissmann, University of Berlin, Lutheran ; Treasurer, George Zabriskie, D.C.L., American Episcopal ; and General Secretary, Mr. Ralph W. Brown, American Episcopal.

The Conference was in session August 3rd to 21st, 1927. Six different general subjects were discussed in plenary sessions, then in sectional divisions, and finally before plenary sessions for amendment and reception to be transmitted to the Churches. By previous agreement only that which could be received unanimously was to be regarded as having been received by the Conference. The action of adoption was not to be taken in any case dealing with the findings on Faith and Order. The subjects which were considered and upon which reports[1] were finally received were as follows : The Church's Message to the World ; The Gospel ; The Nature of the Church ; The Church's Common Confession of Faith ; The Church's Ministry ; The Sacraments ; The Unity of Christendom and the Relation Thereto of the Existing Churches.

The subject, " The Call of Unity," was dealt with chiefly by the President, Bishop Brent, in the opening sermon, and by the speakers at the four evening sessions held in the Lausanne Cathedral. Bishop Brent was the author of the Preamble to the findings and of the Report on " The Call to Unity," which were received by the Conference with slight amendments.[2] The Report on " The Unity of Christendom and the Relation Thereto of the Existing Churches " was confronted by determined opposition on the part of some of the Anglo-Catholics, although Dr. D'Arcy, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland—in the absence of Archbishop Söderblom, the Chairman of the Section which formulated this Report—presented it, with the hearty backing of Dr. Headlam, the Lord Bishop of Gloucester. After a very sharp debate (the only instance of the Conference when a really hostile spirit was shown, and that by the opponents to the Report), the Report was received to be transmitted at once to the Continuation Committee for any action they might decide to take within the scope and purpose of the Conference.[3] This Report, as well as all the others, appears in full in the Appendix. It was the attitude of a very few ill-advised Catholics, acting as individuals, towards this last Report which has been the occasion of the most severe condemnations by Evangelicals of all schools, episcopal or otherwise. Coming as it did with the most prominent Anglicans and other Catholic leaders in its favour, this unwise opposition worked a great harm to the cause of those who showed the hostility. The Report, if it had been received (and there were probably not

[1] See Appendix, p. 396 *ff.*

[2] *Idem.*

[3] Both this Report and the Report as finally formulated by the Continuation Committee through its special sub-Committee with the Bishop of Gloucester as chairman are printed in the Appendix p. 405 *ff.* A comparison of the two Reports makes a valuable study of the modifications compelled in any effort to placate the extreme radicals in any effort to arrive at a common agreement.

more than fifteen of the whole Conference who would have voted against it), would have been an extremely cautious and thoroughly wise move towards the spirit and methods of Copec and Stockholm, with practically the same credal and polity basis as that suggested in the famous Lambeth Quadrilateral. The net result was the widening of the gulf between the Evangelical Catholics and the sacramental Catholics, and the advance of the spirit of unity within these two respective groups, especially within the Evangelical Catholic group.

As the sessions of the Conference went on, certain of the denominational groups grew restless, seemingly having the attitude that they were there to legislate their respective Churches into an organic union. The Eastern Orthodox, the Evangelical Lutherans, and the Reformed Churches of Europe each prepared and presented formal statements to the Body, stating certain reservations and exceptions, the Orientals declaring that except for the Report on "The Church's Message to the World: The Gospel," they were not to be regarded as having concurred in receiving any of the other Reports. They nevertheless remained in the Conference to co-operate in all possible ways, and accepted places on the Continuation Committee. Statements were also made by individual Quakers, Congregationalists, and Anglicans. In the making of these sorts of bills of exception, there was only the most excellent spirit shown. There was no display of that bigotry and rancour that was so evident in the expression of denominational differences but a few years ago. Lausanne marked a very great advance amongst all of the Churches (aside from the Roman Catholics, who were not represented although two Roman Catholic priests attended as observers), in the progress of Christendom towards that unity for which Christ so earnestly prayed. Let the spirit and methods of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, of Edinburgh, of Copec, of Stockholm, and of Lausanne be combined and extended throughout the earth, and the Church of Christ will be multiplied many times in its power and usefulness as a means for the extension of the Kingdom of God.

Lausanne, its excellent spirit, and its accomplishments, will ever stand as a special monument to the one whom the Conference gladly and with unanimity made its President, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Charles H. Brent. His Catholic mind and heart, his Spirit-filled personality, his gracious and kindly manner ever acted as a benediction. He had toiled and prayed throughout the preceding seventeen years that Lausanne might be realized. He presided in such a way that Lausanne was helped to take its place amongst the great spiritual Mizpahs of Ecumenical Christendom.

Very great credit is due to the Deputy Chairman of Lausanne, the Rev. Dr. A. E. Garvie, Principal of Hackney and New College, London, not only for his work as Chairman of most of the business sessions, but for his counsel to certain groups and to individuals away from the floor of the Conference. To him, more than to any other, according to His Grace, the Most Rev. Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Upsala, who was also a very great figure at the Conference, is due the credit of having marshalled the English and European

Churches into line in support of, and to representation at, this notable Council.

A Continuation Committee, made up of leading members of the more than seventy autonomous Communions represented at the Conference, was created. At Baltimore, Maryland, The Christian Unity League,[1] under the leadership of Dr. Peter Ainslie, a prominent member of the Lausanne Continuation Committee, held a sort of second Lausanne, January 12th to 13th, 1928. There are signs that the spirit of Lausanne is being caught by the Evangelicals of the United States, which will lead to further unions among several important denominations of the same general families as to faith and polity. Lausanne, having been the first effort for centuries to secure Faith and Order, was in itself a very great accomplishment. The Reports accepted were far in advance of what many of the most hopeful had even dared to expect. The fraternal spirit, except for the instance cited, was superb throughout. At all sessions, all were united in worship. Lausanne marked the beginning of a new era in the progress towards Church unity.

THE JERUSALEM CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Under the auspices of the International Missionary Council, which is the present-day evolved body growing out of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, there was held at Jerusalem, from March 24th to April 8th, 1928, an exceedingly significant Conference of Missionary leaders. To this Conference came about two hundred and fifty representatives. Though this gathering was smaller in numbers than Edinburgh in 1910, it was quite different in its make-up since the indigenous Churches of the Mission Fields very nearly equalled those who came from the home Churches. The first week proved to be a time when radical differences were revealed. The second week ended with a most happy and unanimous assembling of Messages and Recommendations.[2] Various subjects were frankly discussed. The most import of these was the Christian message in its relation to non-Christian systems of thought and life. In the framing of the Conferences' message upon this subject, the Lord Bishop of Manchester, later to become the Archbishop of York, Dr. William Temple, by request, formulated the same. The resulting pronouncement was most notable. Religious education and the industrial problem in their relation to the world-wide extension of Christianity also were most ably discussed, with

[1] This " League " was organized at the Emmanuel Protestant Episcopal and the First Presbyterian Churches at Baltimore, Md., May, 20th and 31st, 1927, with the Rev. Dr. Peter Ainslie as President.

[2] See *The World Mission of Christianity: Messages and Recommendations, Jerusalem, March 27th to April 8th*, 1928, published by the International Missionary Council, 2, Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1. See also *Roads to the City of God: A World Outlook from Jerusalem*, by Basil Matthews, also published at 2, Eaton Gate.

messages bearing thereupon being adopted. Dr. John R. Mott presided. A very significant and advanced step was taken by so revising the Constitution of the International Missionary Council that it hereafter is composed of the national Missionary organizations or Church Councils in the Mission Field. This means that the Council's work will henceforth be carried out by the constituting missionary groups as well as by the officers of the Council. The many notable Christian leaders from all countries and communions present made the gathering most important. The sessions were held on the Mount of Olives.

THE INTERNATIONAL JERUSALEM MISSIONARY CONFERENCE ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

It was attended by 250 delegates, shown above, representing 51 different nations, over 50 per cent. of whom were leading members of the Young Christian Churches which have grown up in India, Burma, China, Korea, Japan, the Philippines and elsewhere.

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HELPS AND HINDRANCES TO PROGRESS

" A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another ; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."

—S. John, xiii, 34–35.

" Finally be ye all likeminded, compassionate, loving as brethren, tenderhearted, humbleminded : not rendering evil for evil, or reviling for reviling ; but contrariwise blessing ; for hereunto were ye called, that ye should inherit a blessing."

—I Peter, iii, 8–9.

" On the east were three gates ; and on the north three gates ; and on the south three gates ; and on the west three gates. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb."

—Revelation, xxi, 13–14.

" And I saw no temple therein : for the Lord God the Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple thereof."

—Revelation, xxi, 22.

" They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain : for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the root of Jesse, which standeth for an ensign of the peoples—unto him shall all the nations seek ; and his resting place shall be glorious."

—Isaiah, xi, 9–10.

" God wills unity . . . However we may justify the beginnings of disunion, we lament its continuance, and henceforth must labour, in penitence and faith, to build up our broken walls."

From *The Call to Unity*
adopted unanimously by the Lausanne Conference.

CHAPTER XI

HELPS AND HINDRANCES TO PROGRESS

We have considered most of the efforts for either the maintenance or attainment of the visible unity of Christendom since the first Council of Jersualem. Those who are labouring in this present day to unite the Body of Christ on earth more closely can hardly be said to be "pioneers."[1] There have always been those who, being pained because of the divisions amongst the followers of the Lord of truth and love, have toiled and prayed that schisms based on selfishness, prejudice, hate, or error should be done away. But schisms crept in and both multiplied and widened, nevertheless. We beheld, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the most highly and deeply divided Christendom of any period since the Apostolic days.[2] Then we noted the rise of modern union movements. Each year they have increased in numbers and importance. In the Apostolic Church, we had the thesis, in the Reformation Church, we had the antithesis. Now, we are seemingly on the threshold of the synthesis of Christendom.

Our studies certainly gave us a great hope, indeed, a clear indication, that the tide towards a comprehensively federated or united Christendom on earth has set in. It may be that ere much further progress is made towards the desirable goal we shall witness strong, if not violent, reactions here and there, including the multiplication of divisions by the excessive emphasis of nationalism. From the standpoint of faith and order, the great Lausanne Conference revealed a most surprising and encouraging amount of agreement.[3] But there was also revealed, both then and since, the fact that as between the Evangelicals and the extreme Sacerdotalists there is a wide gulf fixed, which not even the most astute, viewing it from the human angle, see a means of bridging. From the standpoint of unity based on creed and polity, there has been, and will continue to be, much progress among the Evangelicals and among the extreme Sacerdotalists, but the gulf between the two groups never presented a more sharply divisive aspect than at present.

Those who hold to the historic episcopate, and the Apostolic Succession as attendant thereto, and who think of these as being for the *bene esse* of the Church, are not to be included in the sacerdotal group. Rather those hierarchical or hierurgical systems which hold to the episcopacy as being the very *esse* of the Church, who assert their possession of an unbroken Apostolical Succession that is mechan-

[1] See the application of "pioneers" to modern re-unionists in *The Call to Unity* of the Lausanne Conference findings, Appendix, p. 397.

[2] Note especially in this connection the Denominational Statistics of the various grand divisions of the world, as set forth in the Appendix, p. 409 *ff.*

[3] Lausanne Conference Reports, Appendix, pp. 396–408.

ical rather than moral or spiritual, and who place tradition either on a par with or superior to the Scriptures—they may be classed as sacerdotal. Between such sacerdotalism and evangelicalism, whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Congregational, there is an uncompromising cleavage. How this division shall be ended doth not yet appear. Probably nothing short of a world catastrophe accompanied by economic and social upheaval will serve to bring the un-Christlike in this conflict to a state of true repentance. Prayers should be offered up from every individual Christian and from all the Churches that unity shall be brought about by peaceful, constructive means, and not as the aftermath of destructive warfare, bloody revolution, and the brutal sacrifice of millions of innocent lives. There can be no permanent civil or social peace so long as there is such a deep and determined religious cleavage as now exists between the groups under discussion. With God all things are possible. Let us pray and labour earnestly in the Spirit that in the midst of Christendom there may come a righteous unity based on truth and love, and that very soon. In the meantime let us be diligent with God's help to bring forth fruits with patience.

Progress towards unity has no greater aid than definite, genuine praying for the same. The burden of such prayer should not be that all may be united according to our way of thinking, but in accordance with the will, the mind, and the heart of God.

It will be well if we now devote our attention to a consideration of the things which have made or will make for greater unity. Some of these factors are as follows :—

1. The recognition of the need for visible as well as invisible Christian or Church unity.[1]

The call to Christian unity, that is visible, is obvious to all those who have a thorough acquaintance with the problems of present-day Christendom, and who have a sincere desire that the Church of Christ should be an effective witness for Christ, and present a united front to the world. Desirable and necessary as inward spiritual unity may be, outward unity is equally necessary if the world is to be convinced that Christ was sent of God the Father. It is not within the province of this study to dwell at length upon the reasons why the visible Church should have unity in comprehensiveness—a unity which does not involve uniformity. We may state, however, some of the reasons in favour of such a goal.

(1) The God at the centre of the Christian religion is one. The Christ who revealed Him said, " I and the Father are one." The Christian religion, in its essence, is a religion of righteous love, of the brotherhood of man, and of the Fatherhood of God. The Christian Church cannot possibly bear an effective witness to a religion whose very genius is unity except it have unity in itself.

[1] See in this connection A. J. Brown, *Unity and Missions—Can a Divided Church Save the World ?* " New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1915. C. A. Briggs, *Church Unity, Study of Its Important Problems.* The Lausanne Conference Reports, *The Call to Unity*, Appendix, p. 396 *ff.* A. C. Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church and Re-union, op. cit.*

(2) To convince a skeptical, critical world that the Christ, who can and does so redeem His followers that they live and labour together in visible unity and peace, is the world's Saviour and Lord, definitely commissioned and sent by the Father God. The need for unity as thus stated constitutes the burden of Jesus' intercessory prayer as recorded in the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel. The world will ever remain skeptical concerning a Christ who does not actually bring unity in love in the midst of those who follow Him.

(3) The Christian Church must be united if the Christian evangelization of the world is ever to be accomplished. To argue that non-Christian groups are acquainted with parties and divisions, castes and sects, proves nothing. Divisions may be characteristic of other religions, but Christianity is a monotheism, and love manifested in outward life is the chief test of its genuineness.

(4) To eliminate over-churching in local communities, and at the same time to provide a more adequate Christian Church for the needs of these communities, it is imperative that the scandal of denominational competition should be ended.

(5) To provide more nearly adequate programs of religious education, moral instruction, and effective evangelization wherever Christian Churches are found. That the foregoing is necessary for the common weal is conceded. There is little possibility of obtaining a united and favourable public sentiment which will demand and obtain aid for a united program of religious education, moral instruction, and evangelization as long as the Christian Churches are disunited.

(6) To place corporate Christianity in a position where it can speak with moral authority, and by power of example, when it exhorts the races, states, and nations of the world to cease from all war, to unite for peace, and to live in love and unity together. It is a clear case of " Physician, heal thyself."

(7) To make official Christendom conform to the teaching of Scripture, especially to the New Testament example of the Christian Church. Though there were various schools of thought and indications here and there of disunity in local congregations, yet the early Church was essentially a united Church. This unity was maintained with a fair degree of practical unanimity for the first three or four centuries.[1]

(8) We need in this present day to seek the union of the Churches out of loyalty to the sincerity, the convictions, and the consecration of those truly great personalities who figured so largely in the founding of many of the major denominations. Each of them followed fearlessly the light as he saw it in his day. But,

> " New occasions teach new duties,
> Time makes ancient good uncouth,
> They must ever up and onward
> Who would keep abreast of truth."

[1] However, see Period I, Chapter I, pp. 1–21.

Whatever the forefathers had of positive value in their lives and messages will neither be ignored nor destroyed in the comprehensive union to which the demands of the present day call us. Progress toward this union must be made with patience, but the slowness of the procedure should not weaken the definite and persistent determination to proceed.

(9) The world needs a united, visible Body of Christ which shall constitute one constitutional, Evangelical Catholicism with a vastly increased power as a mediator of grace. Whatever may be one's theory as to the extent to which the Church is in a position to mediate grace, there can be no doubt that a definitely, genuinely united Body of Christ that is no longer wounded, yes, well nigh dissected by multitudinous schisms, will be in a position to mediate to all its communing, covenanted membership and worshipping congregations far more of the grace of God than at present.

2. Progress towards closer union is always helped by the clear pointing-out of the recognized agreements as to polity, doctrine, needs of the field, and methods of meeting such needs.

Many attempts have been made to construct harmonies of the creeds and to set down the consensus and the dissensus of denominational doctrines. A Harmony of Confessions was published in Latin at Geneva in 1581, with Theodore Beza, M. Salnar and Daneau as the joint authors.[1] This Harmony was translated and published in English in 1586 and again in 1643 ; still later, with additions by Peter Hall in 1842. In 1612 a Harmony of the Reformed Confessions was published in Latin, with a new edition in 1654 containing the corrections made by the Synod of Dort (1619), the Confession of Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the General Confession of Reformed Churches in Polonia, Lithuania, and the provinces annexed according to the Assembly of Thorn. In 1808 B. Porteus, at the suggestion of Bishop Cleaver, published a collection of the Reformed Confessions, a second edition of his work appearing in 1827. In this later edition the Augsburg Confession was included in two forms : that as it was presented to the Emperor Charles V. at the Assembly of Augsburg ; and that as it was altered by Melanchthon and laid before the Diet of Worms in 1540. In 1827 a Continental Collection of Confessions appeared under the title, *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum, qui in Ecclesia Reformatorum Auctoritatem Publicam obtinuerunt*, with J. C. William Augusti as the author. Then in 1840 the *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum* appeared edited by Dr. H. A. Niemeyer. These two last-named collections are of considerable importance as a basis for the comparative study of the Reformed Creeds and Articles of Faith. The Rev. D. Stewart published, in 1835, *The Scriptural Unity of Protestant Churches*, etc., and the Rev. John Cumming two years later wrote *The Unity of Protestantism, being Articles of Religion from the Creeds of the Reformed Churches.*

For the most part these collections of Harmonies, in so far as they

[1] See p. 45.

appeared on the Continent of Europe, were published to show the comparative unity of the various Protestant creeds, thereby confuting the charge that Protestantism was in a hopelessly chaotic state. The English editions were made, excepting the last two mentioned, to convince English Royalty, clergy and laity that there was real dignity and general concord to the Protestant Confessions, and that, therefore, England should remain Protestant rather than return to the Roman Allegiance and Faith. The Harmonies by Stewart and Cumming, including one by the Rev. Peter Hall in 1842, entitled, *The Harmony of Protestant Confessions*, were written to show the inherent unity of the Reformed Faiths, and the desirability of the same as over against certain supposedly Rome-ward tendencies which finally did take definite shape in the Tractarian and Oxford Movements of the middle of the nineteenth century.

In this connection, the 1923 English edition of Forbes' *Irenicum* (*Irenicum Joannis Forbesii Aberdoniæ*, 1624),[1] is very valuable as a study of the confessions as compared and reconciled in that early day.

In more recent years Dr. Philip Schaff[2] was a pre-eminent leader in the field of Christian irenics and harmonies of Confessions. It was Dr. Schaff, then a member of the faculty of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, who, as we previously noted, made four trips to Europe in order to get the British Evangelical Alliance to unite, in New York City, with the American Evangelical Alliance in their great union International Convention of 1873. His two-volume work on the *History of the Creeds of Christendom* is a standard in this field, and the basis of the study of many scholars. In his one volume work, *The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*, there is an important study at the close entitled *The Consensus and Dissensus of Creeds*. All students in comparative confessions will do well to read the latter study in particular, and note the very large degree in which there is consensus in the creeds of all the Christian Churches.

The tendency among Evangelicals is more and more to keep the denomination, creed or confession in the background. When Church unions are formed, especially in the Mission Fields, brevity and simplicity are sought for in making credal statements. Among the "Home" Churches, the Confessions or Articles of Faith are in a quiescent state. But when actual union with any other Church is imminent, then they are brought out and treated as supremely vital by certain guardians of the faith. It would be well if all the Churches would revive the study and teaching of their respective confessional bases. What changes should be made would then be made wisely. However, on the basis of what has long since been written as the

[1] E. G. Selwyn, editor and translator.

[2] See above-named volumes by Dr. Schaff; also "The Antagonism of the Creeds," article in *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. 28, p. 836 *ff*. *Christ and Christianity*, N.Y., 1885; "The Harmony of the Reformed Confessions," an essay delivered before the first Conference of the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System, July 4th, 1877, N.Y., Dodd, Mead & Co., 1877. Dr. C. A. Briggs, *Church Unity*, *op. cit.*, is also a notable modern effort in the field of Irenics.

beliefs of the various branches of the Church, there is a very great amount of agreement, as Dr. Schaff and others have pointed out. That agreement should be kept before the people and emphasized as well as acted upon. Why dwell upon our differences when there is so much upon which we agree?

The most recent setting forth of agreements by the Churches is to be found in the reports of the Lausanne Conference of August, 1927. These Reports are given in full in the Appendix, and should not only be carefully read, but should be made the basis of practical visible unity amongst the Churches subscribing. Let us translate our theoretical agreements into union for Christian worship and service.

3. By distinguishing between truth, or fact, and opinion.

We would not be amongst those who cry: "Back to the early days for our present-day methods." Such an action or attitude is to deny that the Holy Spirit has been revealing and guiding the true followers of our Lord in the centuries since. Nor would we regard all the conclusions of the various theologians, philosophers, logicians and dogmatists as being utterly devoid of truth. We do know, however, that truth is very simple and elemental, and that it is to history and to science, and not to dogmatism, that we are to go for facts. The moment we begin to speculate or theorize or interpret, that moment we are entering the realm of opinion wherein ever lies the possibility of error. We should remember Tennyson's assertion that Christ is more than our little systems, and the injunction or motto of Rupertus Meldenius, *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.*

It follows that the final basis of a comprehensive unity, which must be based on truth or fact and not upon opinion, will be very brief and very simple. Even the historical ecumenical creeds will be treated not as tests of faith but as standards of reference. The unity will centre in the historical Jesus.

4. There can be no approach towards unity which is permanent except it be a comprehensive and inclusive unity which, though it has a very simple basis, tolerates the various interpretations of the historical Jesus, the insistence being merely upon *being like Him* and on *bearing Christlike fruit.*

The heavenly Jerusalem is described as facing all the four quarters of the universe with gates on all four sides. It is not the business of any Christian group to single out any particular gate and then swing upon it to the hindrance even of those who might be inclined to enter that gate.

The finite minds and hearts of men do not have the capacity to approach the cosmopolitan, infinite mind and heart of God. The best that conscientious men can do is to be broadly tolerant, remembering that God is behind the shadows, keeping watch above His own; that He is the Judge; and that only His own children will ultimately enjoy His presence and serve Him for ever. It is because of the finiteness of men and the impossibility of getting any large number to possess and exercise anything like the wide sweep of the heart and mind of God, that only a very comprehensive union based on toleration can ever be possible on earth. The complete elimination

of all the major denominational lines is not possible where finiteness is the controlling factor. Because of the differences in psychological make-up, in racial and national traditions, in heredity and in environment, men *are* different. And these differences are not necessarily due either to moral sin or to intellectual error, or to lack of love. They are due to man's finite equipment. He may be perfect as far as he goes, but he is only in partial possession of the infinite attributes which we ascribe to God. Hence perfectly honest and thoroughly Christian men (with due allowances for their finiteness) honestly differ.

National traditions and psychological characteristics were mentioned as being factors which compel any workable scheme of universal Christian unity to be comprehensive, not rigid or uniform. The recent recrudescence of nationalism following the World War and in connection with Christian Unity movements in the newer Christian fields makes it desirable that we dwell more at length upon the study of these factors. Most discussions dealing with the union of the Churches seem to ignore them altogether. But they are of major importance.

National diversities strike deep, often disregarding racial differences, and making an appeal to the deeper instincts of men second only, if not equal, to religious instincts in their power to arouse loyalty which can easily lead to the bitterest and most deadly animosity. Since the Versailles Conference and Treaty following the World War we have been witnessing a world-wide revival of nationalism. In all lands we see groups that for many years, perhaps for centuries, have been held in subjection—civil or ecclesiastical, or both—to foreign authorities now demanding local autonomy in Church and State. This is not merely true as with regard to peoples and countries directly affected or specifically named in the provisions of the Versailles Treaty. The movement is most evident within what are termed, from the standpoint of the home Churches in Europe and America, Foreign or Colonial Mission Fields.

In the changes being wrought by the demands of these fields for local government an almost complete revolution of the "Foreign" and "Colonial" Missionary programs of the mother Churches is being necessitated. In some instances this has happily been anticipated and gladly acceded to. The whole movement is most encouraging since, while the unthinking might see in these events an ungrateful revolt in the face of love and sacrifice, the proper interpretation is that these child-Churches are showing the results of their excellent rearing, and now very naturally desire to have their own individual careers. To those who are zealous for universal Christian re-union this multiplication of the number of Churches due to the rising tide of nationalism appears at first glance to be very disconcerting. This is all the more true when we reflect that when these Churches have secured complete local autonomy and have for the immediate future become quite united within these given nations, as appears to be happening within India and China, they have but started on careers which will probably lead to all sorts of dis-unions having their own local causes. Some rather wish that they might

fully profit by the lessons that Occidental Christendom has learned at great cost in connection with the causes and woes of dis-union. We can only pray that the national Churches now being formed within these lands shall for ever remain undivided Communions.

Christ Himself having been an Oriental and the Scriptures of both the Old and New Testaments having been written and assembled by Orientals, it is very possible that while the Occident has been taking nineteen hundred years to try to understand both Christ and the Scriptures, the Orient, being in a position to appreciate and grasp the spirit and genius of Oriental phraseology and personality, will apprehend that spirit more quickly. Thereby it would be saved from centuries of division and bloodshed such as the Occident has experienced, very largely because of the fact that it has divided and fought over the letter which killeth, never having in any considerable way discerned or appropriated the spirit which giveth life. May the Oriental Churches so perfectly enter into the inward and essential meaning of Christ and the Gospel that multitudinous divisions based on differences of interpretation of the Scripture will never arise! Someone has said that the Semitic race gave us the Messianic and New Testament drama; the imperialistic Roman Christians gave us the doctrine of sin and of the Roman Church; the feudalistic Christianity of Western Europe as expressed in Anselm gave us the first real theory of the atonement; the liberty-loving Teutonic Christians gave us Protestantism; the English bourgeois gave the world Evangelicalism; the modern or scientific Americans are giving us a socialized, democratized Christian Gospel; and we may now expect that the Orientals will present to the world a spiritualized, cosmopolitan, fraternal brotherhood in Christ,[1] the final result being a deeply spiritual, Evangelical, constitutional, Congregational, Presbyterial, cosmopolitan Christian Catholicism.

What are the factors that create a sense of nationality? In answering this question some have thought that these factors were merely racial. Mr. R. M. MacIver[2] points out that the chief qualities or interests in the recognition of which, either as common or as exclusively common, the foundations of nationality must be sought are as follows: race; language; territory, as occupied effectively not as politically owned; economic interests; culture, *i.e.*, characteristic standards and modes of life; religions; political unity; political tradition (the outcome of political unity when long established); political subjection; and political domination. One or more of the foregoing factors enter into the construction of such nationalities as, *e.g.*, the British, the French, the Jews, the Japanese, the Poles, etc. The more recent revival of the nationalistic spirit is traced by Mr. MacIver as being the result of four fairly well defined stages of development: (1) the primitive tribe having exclusive devotion to a universal uniformity; (2) development from the tribal form of government being achieved at the cost of uniformity by the rise of various

[1] See Shailer Matthews' article, "Generic Christianity," in *The Constructive Quarterly*, December, 1914.

[2] See article, "The Foundations of Nationality," *The Sociological Review*, July, 1915.

loyalties which culminated under feudalism; (3) the sentiment of nationality proper appearing when men sought to realize and distinguish the claims of the complete community to which they felt themselves to belong. Both nationality and democracy reveal in their respective developments the same principle working under different conditions. When a community that is logically a geographical and social unit is given sufficient freedom to achieve local autonomy, it will first seek to have its own nationality, and afterwards to have democracy within that nationality. In other words, that community's first effort is to achieve national foundations. Its second effort is to have democracy that it may build on these foundations. (4) In comparatively recent years the idea that nationalism is fostered by exclusiveness is breaking down. Nationality is no more obliterated by international relations than personality is eclipsed by inter-personal relations. The recognition of this truth has caused the development of international co-ordination by means of special conventions and agreements, by diplomacy, and by such institutions as the Hague Tribunal and the League of Nations.

At this particular stage in the development of mankind there are fewer distinct nations than there are denominations of the Christian Church, taking into account the nationalistic divisions of that Church within the same denomination. The revival of nationalism that we are witnessing to-day is resulting in the formation, as we have noted, of Churches in certain of the grand divisions which have the expressed ideal that there shall be but one Christian Church within the given nation. The real source of anxiety, therefore, to all who are devoutly hoping for the realization of fewer denominations, if not for one world-wide Church, lies not in the nationalistic movement, but lies mainly with the unwillingness of the mother Churches to dissolve their differences and enter into organic union.

As these national Churches are being formed in the newer fields where Christianity has entered, it is quite evident that they are not Churches that will in any way be burdened by rigid systems of theology and polity that have no claim upon their attention other than that they are the historically interesting relics in connection with possibly centuries of struggle and strife on the part of the older Churches. It follows that if there is ever to be union between the older Churches and these newer nationalistic Churches, the former must expect to relegate all items of creed and polity that have merely an historical, but no essential, value, to their archives, there to be viewed with respect but not to be imposed upon the newer generation.

The personal and psychological factors leading to dis-union are, in a sense, one and the same, but we can differentiate between them if we think of the former as referring to outstanding individual leaders, and the latter as referring to characteristics common to groups. Most of the major denominations had their beginnings under the leadership of men of particularly outstanding ability. With the Old Catholics we associate J. J. I. von Döllinger; with the Lutherans, Martin Luther; with the Reformed Churches, Ulrich Zwingli; with the Presbyterian, John Calvin and John Knox; with the Methodists,

John Wesley ; with the Free Church of Scotland, Thomas Chalmers ; with the Disciples, Alexander and Thomas Campbell ; and with the Salvation Army, William Booth.

Students of epistemology know very well that the form or expression which items of knowledge presented to the intellect shall take depends very largely upon the psychological make-up of the individual to whom these items of knowledge are being presented. There are those who explain the differences of apprehension between two equally well-informed individuals by saying that their childhood training has been different. Granting that this explanation is true in part, the psychological make-up of individuals cannot be ignored, although it has been somewhat modified by training. Behind acquired characteristics there are native characteristics. In this original equipment are included the instincts, with their corresponding emotions, the innate tendencies, the sentiments, and the initial temperament and character. If it is true that " the proper study of mankind is man," it is almost equally true that the study of the problems of religious unity must take into account the innate human diversities. The proper philosophy and psychology that must underlie the doctrine and polity of a world-wide, re-united Church must be personalistic.[1] Different psychological temperaments feel at home in different types of services of worship. The future united Church must avoid uniformity, otherwise it is doomed to immediate re-division.

In view of these psychological and national differences, all of which militate against there ever being universal organic union, the basis for general Christian uni tymust be very simple, with provision for the widest tolerance of viewpoints or interpretations. There really can be no other test applied than that which Jesus Himself applied, namely, " By their fruits ye shall know them." The " fruits " can only be of Christ when we abide in Him and are like Him. Any further tests than these would probably render a universal and all-inclusive union impossible.

5. The desired goal of unified life and action in a universal visible Church of Christ will be much more quickly reached along the lines of association, co-operation or federation for Christian service, looking for the day when greater proximity in faith and order will be possible.

In the history of union movements which we have been considering we have noted that the more organic unions had their beginnings in many instances in previous association or federation for the work of advancing Christ's Kingdom. As between various denominational families amongst the Protestants or Evangelicals the whole approach to unity to date, with very few exceptions, has been by the way of first individual communicants banding themselves together, then by the denominations sending representatives with no power to bind their respective communions, then by a federal union which is an ecclesiastically constituted body with power to commit the Churches which constitute its membership in matters of the Churches' internal life.

[1] Thus are the teachings of Borden P. Bowne, Jans Christian Smuts, Lloyd Morgan, William MacDougall, von Hügel, and others.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople in January, 1920, stated[1] that this " Church is of the opinion that a closer intercourse with each other and a mutual understanding between the several Christian Churches is not prevented by the doctrinal differences existing between them, and that such an understanding is highly desirable and necessary, and in many ways useful in the well-conceived interest of each one of the Churches taken apart and as a whole Christian body, as also for preparing and facilitating the complete and blessed union which may some day be attained with God's help."

" We, therefore, on the establishment of the League of Nations, which has now been effected with good omen, consider the matter to be both feasible and more than ever timely."[2]

" Finally, it is the duty of the Churches which adorn themselves with the sacred name of Christ not to forget and neglect any longer His new and great commandment of love, and still to fall piteously behind the political authorities, who, truly applying the spirit of the Gospel and of the Justice of Christ, have under happy auspices already instituted the League of Nations, for the defence of right and for the cultivation of love and harmony among the nations."[3]

The Secretary of the Holy Synod of Constantinople writing in the *Christian East* for 1920,[4] stated: " I believe that the League of Churches is not foreign to the ultimate aim of the Y.M.C.A. . . . The League of Churches is a proposal that has been put forth by the Greek Patriarchate at Constantinople. Already they have communicated it to all the Churches."

Bishop Mandell Creighton of London (1897–1901), took a firm stand for federation. He wrote: " The restoration of the unity of Christendom will be not by affirming any one of the existing systems as universal, but by a federation. What we have to do is to sweep away foolish and one-sided controversy, and to seek the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Natural differences, the sense of individual liberty, habits and modes of thought are too strong to be set aside. But there is no real reason why these should not be accommodated in one system, which admits of gradations. In the Mediæval Church, for instance, the Franciscans were at first something like the Salvation Army—only they denied nothing, and did not profess that their way was the only way . . . Now some such conception as this must be at the bottom of re-union. We do not differ —any Christians—about the contents of the Christian faith, but about the proportion of them, and the means of their application to the individual soul. The real point of difference is about the means."[5]

In September, 1917, the first Cheltenham Conference of Anglican Evangelicals stated in one of their findings, " That the goal to be aimed at is some form of federation rather than anything like organic union."[6] But in their Conferences of 1918 and 1919 they modified this finding by stating " that the ultimate goal at which to aim is

[1] G. K. A. Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 44. [2] *Idem*, pp. 44–45.
[3] *Idem*, pp. 47–48.
[4] *The Christian East*, 1920, p. 210.
[5] *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, by his Wife. Vol. II, p. 177.
[6] F. T. Woods, Frank Weston, Martin L. Smith, *Lambeth and Re-union*, p. 35.

the union of all believers in Christ, in one visible Society," and " That the Episcopacy appears to be that form of Church order on which it is practical to look for re-union."[1]

The most significant pronouncement made by a leader of the Anglican Communion relative to federation as a means to unity was that made by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1915, in connection with what was happening at Kikuyu, East Africa. In his statement giving his final conclusions, he wrote : " There is, I think, a very real difficulty in regarding it as possible that one section of a great Communion should thus federate itself with some of those outside, without thereby compromising or at least affecting the life and organization of the whole Communion or Society whereof it is a part. Transfer the thought from Ecclesiastical to National life. Could Devonshire be federated say, with Normandy without thereby compromising England ? "—even leaving Devonshire such local autonomy as it now has. The Archbishop believed that most of the provisions of the proposed Scheme of Federation could be made effective under a system of co-operation and fellowship which might quite possibly pave the way for plans of formal federation and of ultimate union in a Native African Church. He then goes on to state : " But a formal and quasi-constitutional Federation in British East Africa of different denominations whereof our Church is one, requires, as it seems to me, a sanction which must be more than local."[2]

The American Protestant Episcopal Church, has by a small majority, refused to become a member of the American Federal Council, though it does co-operate on three of that Council's Committees. The United Lutheran Church in the United States holds merely a consultative relation to the Federal Council.

In spite of such objections as those raised by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, we hold that on the basis of the recognition given to other ministries in the Lambeth Appeal To All Christian People in 1920, and in the negotiations with the Free Churches since,[3] there is no good reason for the Catholic Communions to remain outside of any Federal Union which is so constituted as not to permit it to interfere with the internal life of the Communions which constitute its membership.

Even the Roman Catholic Church recognizes the validity of lay baptism and all sacerdotal Catholic Communions acknowledge that there are large bodies of Christians without their membership in whose lives the Spirit hath wrought mighty works, even though they are not willing to recognize the regularity (some, indeed, not even recognizing the validity) of the ministries whereby the Evangelicals have received grace. On the other hand, the very genius of Evangelical Catholicism is such that the members gladly fraternize and communicate with any or all Christians regardless as to how they came into possession of Christ. Granted, for the sake of reasoning,

[1] F. T. Woods, Frank Weston, Martin L. Smith, *Lambeth and Re-union*, p. 35.
[2] *Kikuyu*, The Archbishop of Canterbury, Easter, 1915
[3] See p. 329 *ff.*

that the Sacerdotalists do have the valid or regular faith and polity, there is no possibility of the Evangelicals ever coming to the point where they will adopt that faith and polity so long as the former will not federate with them for Christian community or social service. It is argued that federation inevitably leads to federation for the propagation of religion. Since the Sacerdotalists have their particular creed and order as the very condition for the propagation of true religion, they are therefore immediately forced into a compromising position when asked to co-operate with non-sacerdotal Churches.

Now what is the weakness of this kind of reasoning? The weakness lies in the fact that there are multitudinous forms of Christian service for the performance of which all good people may closely federate without compromising their individual consciences in the least. When there are great tasks for the relief of suffering, for the advance of health and morals, for the eradication of social evils which must go untouched because good people do not unite in service since they have a quarrel about some matter of opinion, then it is that faith and order are being over-emphasized to the neglect of love, and Christ is being crucified anew. There is no particular creed or polity, however much it deserves to be uniformly and faithfully stressed, but that those Churches who adhere to it can freely enter into federations for Christian service which do not involve the delegation of the control of their internal life to others.

When all the Christian Churches are thus federated and busily at work in Christ's name, they very soon come to understand and appreciate each other's viewpoint, weakness and strength. The approach to organic union is then made far more clear and easy. There need not be the slightest concern but that, in the long run, that faith and polity best for all concerned will be finally adopted. None of the Communions thus federated need to surrender one iota of their own particular contribution to the whole truth during the progress to the goal of a comprehensive organic union which may be centuries ahead. What a pity if the great tasks which can only be completed by federated effort were wholly neglected during all those years! The way to the goal pointed out at Lausanne in 1927 is by way of federations and federal unions, by the way of Christian Life and Work as sought after at Stockholm in 1925.

6. We shall approach the goal of greater unity amongst the Churches if we keep in mind the fact that were our forefathers here to-day, were the great denominational founders living now, they would be in the lead in the movement to attain this goal. This is of such importance that we restate it here, though we indicated it in considering the need of unity. They saw, as best they could, the needs of their times, and strove to meet those needs. We shall be untrue to them if we have a less fearless spirit in accomplishing God's will for this present age.

No particular apology, if any, need be made for what any of these leaders did, even to the causing of further schisms in the Church. The final goal of an all-inclusive, comprehensive unity, of a fully-tested, tried-in-the-fire, multi-sided, full-orbed truth could never be reached had not there been those who boldly revolted from that

which appeared to be, or actually was, an immoral and an un-Christian compromise.

The world has had the Gospel of St. Paul, of St. Peter, and of St. James boldly proclaimed. These interpretations have their embodiment in great world-wide Communions to-day. We now need the synthesis of all these, which will probably be in a Gospel quite similar to the Johannine enriched by the best elements of the other three.

7. We shall make progress by patiently and persistently, in the love of Christ, attaining unto revivals of a moral, intellectual and spiritual Christianity within each of the denominations as now constituted.

There is very great need for each Church to be at its best. It would be a moral and religious tragedy if we should come to a unity that was legislated and mechanical rather than a unity that was conceived and formed in a spiritual and moral revival in all the Churches.

Such a revival does not involve a revival of sectarianism, but it does mean a spiritualized resurrection of the best contributions within the life of each individual Church, and particularly a crucifixion of all selfishness, so that the power of Christ's resurrected life shall throb within every congregation. Let such a revival do its whole work and presently " there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free ; but Christ is all, and in all."[1]

8. Progress towards the goal indicated in our Lord's intercessory prayer will be augmented by the definite and determined setting aside of prejudices and animosities based on falsehood, ignorance and an otherwise un-Christlike attitude of mind and heart.

The religious conflicts and wars of the past, the persecutions, the inquisitions, the outrageous excesses of many ecclesiastical leaders, the immorality, hypocrisy, and pharisaism of individuals or parties in sectarian strife, the blind ignorance or insularity of one group as with respect to another—all these have sown seeds of bitterness, and have laid foundations for opposition which persists whether the original moral or spiritual inquity does or does not yet abide.

The author would be the last to counsel any weakening in an uncompromising opposition to evil, provided that it is evil, and provided that the opposition is made in the spirit of Christ, remembering especially that we are to love our enemies and to overcome evil with good. We are not to forget that the eradication of evil is not by might nor by power, but by the Spirit of God. What we do contend is that as with respect to the present day inter-denominational animosities, the major part are wholly due to false witness, to ignorance, and to an un-Christlike spirit of mind and heart. We need to recognize the fact that there are very great Christians, and many of them, in every Church. We need to realize that within every sect or denomination there are those who are absolutely sincere, who do truly seek to attain unto " the unity of the

[1] Col. 3, 11.

faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every kind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love, may grow up unto him in all things, which is the head even Christ; from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."[1]

We should also be bold to admit the genuineness of Christlikeness wherever it is found, and also the validity and regularity of the means whereby this has been attained. This applies to Evangelicals and Catholics alike, and to every other major or minor section of Christendom. Our studies thus far, especially in Chapter III, have indicated the great strides in modern times towards the elimination of ignorance, prejudice, and un-Christlikeness of heart and mind. Let every individual Christian and every Christian Church highly and sincerely resolve to support every agency or means which will further better understanding; will promote scientific, accurate learning; will remove the swamps and cesspools of iniquitous, ignorant bias towards others; will cast down every racial, national, or social idol that is unworthy of the Head of the Church; and will break down every middle wall of partition that now divide Christ's visible Body on earth. Great progress has been made already. May we not grow weary in well doing.

9. The binding together of the Churches into one closely federated group, hoping for the day when organic unity can be finally approximated, will be realized according as the Churches think of themselves not as ends in themselves but as means for the promotion of the Kingdom of God on earth.

Whether or not we may see in our day the proof of the axiom that the Church which seeks its own life shall lose it, we may be certain that in the long periods of time wherever selfishness enters into the spirit of any Communion, to that extent it must die. Moreover, when any one Church masquerades as having within itself the sum total of God's aims and ends and announces by its spirit and methods that its existence must be maintained at any cost, then that Church is either doomed to a revolution and rebirth, or else it is doomed to extinction. On the other hand, those Churches which put the interests of the Kingdom first, recognizing that they are but a part of the whole building of God, are the Churches which truly further unity in love, and which shall at last find the life which they merged in the larger unity given back to them ennobled, enriched and immortalized.

10. Unity can never be brought nearer unless we cultivate *the will to unity.*

When once honest Christian people in all the Churches visualize the sins of dis-union, and the definite hindrances to the progress of the

[1] Eph., iv, 13–16.

Kingdom of God caused by the multitudinous divisions in Christ's Body on earth ; when at last they realize that most schisms, willfully persisted in, mean prejudice and hate ; when they are convinced that millions are being robbed of the Gospel by the transgressions and weaknesses growing out of sectarianism—then, and not until then, will they have not merely a friendly attitude towards courteous relations—they will have a passion for the comprehensive visible unity of all Christendom and that at the earliest possible moment.

The will to unity is very necessary if the Churches are to have the patience to endure all sorts of discouragements and set-backs in the labours of preliminary negotiations and conferences. With a will for unity, a Church, or individual, is glad to sink all that is mere opinion in order that the plain simple truth may be stressed. Then the truth of Paul's statement will appear when he said : " And now abideth faith, hope and love, these three ; but the greatest of these is love."[1] Too many religious leaders emphasize faith rather than love. When the communicants of the Churches have the will to seek and attain unto unity, God will enable them to overcome all otherwise insuperable barriers. All that is dross will be consumed and all that is gold will yet remain.

Why should we not love the Church enough to will definitely that we will not allow anything to mar its unity or symmetry ? Let us remember that " Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself for it ; that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word. That He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing ; but that it should be holy and without blemish."[2]

[1] I Corinthians, xiii, 13.
[2] Ephesians, v, 25–27.

APPENDIX

A CHRONOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN UNITY
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND ACT, 1921
ORIENTAL ORTHODOX TEACHING, 1672
LAUSANNE CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS
WORLD-WIDE DENOMINATIONAL STATISTICS

A CHRONOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN UNITY

A HISTORY of Christian union movements which includes all lands and all the divisions of the Christian Faith must necessarily present a more or less broken narrative from the chronological standpoint. There is danger that the reader will lose the inspiration which comes when it is realized that many important events were quite contemporaneous though happening in widely separated countries or within partially isolated groups. The following Chronology has been constructed so that the encouraging march of events will fully and plainly appear. Practically all that is merely noted in this Chronology is treated at length in the text, with the page indicated by the numbers on the right. The index should also be consulted for the complete references. Some of the events appear only in the list below. Their connection with the effort to make the visible or invisible Body of Christ on earth one is either obvious or their fuller treatment is to be found in other treatises.

DATE	THE EVENT	PAGE
49.	The Council at Jerusalem	5
314.	The Donatist Schism	20
325.	First Ecumenical Council, Nicæa	6
381.	Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople	8
431.	Third Ecumenical Council, Ephesus	9
431.	The Nestorian Schism	9
450.	*c.a.* Vincentius of Lerins wrote famous unity motto	107
451.	Fourth Ecumenical Council, Chalcedon	10
451.	Schism of the Monophysites, *i.e.*, Armenians, Jacobites	12
527–565.	Emperor Justinian attempts to win back Monophysites	12
553.	Fifth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople	12
589.	Introduction of " filioque " into Nicene Creed	27
589.	Absorption of the Gothic Arians at Synod of Toledo	18
668.	Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury	92
680–681.	Sixth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople	13
787.	Seventh Ecumenical Council, Nicæa	15
1054.	Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches	21
1074.	Pope Gregory plans to win back the Eastern Church	22
1095.	Pope Urban and his barons seek to placate the Easterns	22
1274.	Temporary union of East and West by Council of Lyons	23
1302.	Pope Boniface VIII. issues bull, *Unam Sanctam*	108
1378.	Beginnings of the Papal Schism	25
1414.	The Council of Constance ends the Papal Schism	24
1438.	Council of Ferrara-Florence—Union of East and West	27
1517.	The Protestant Reformation and Schism	28
1529.	The Council at Marburg	29
1530.	Agreement at Augsburg to join in a General Council	30
1530–1536.	Henry VIII. and others oppose a General Council	30
1538–1539.	Anglicans and Lutherans seek union	30
1540.	The Jesuits founded[1]	115
1541.	At Ratisbon, Luther prevents approach to Roman Church	31
1545–1563.	Council of Trent fixes Roman dogma and polity	108
1547–1553.	Cranmer seeks union of Anglican and Reformed	34
1551.	The Chaldean Church of the Nestorians becomes Uniate with the Roman Church. Since that time, fifteen other large groups have become Uniate Churches	105
1552, 1555.	Treaty of Passau and Religious Peace of Augsburg	49
1553.	Calvin indicates desire for unity to Cranmer	34
1556.	Ferdinand II. urges Protestants to attend the Council of Trent	35
1561–1564.	Cassander writes to encourage union	35
1570.	The Consensus of Sendomir	36

[1] The leaders took vows of purity and chastity in 1534.

DATE	THE EVENT	PAGE
1571.	Act of 13th Elizabeth	83
1575.	Lutheran approaches to Constantinople	37
1581.	Beza and others publish *Harmony of the Reformed Confessions* English editions, 1586, 1643	37
1588.	Archbishop Sandys of York's Will	38
1604.	Hampton Court Conference	39
1609.	James I. and Pope Paul V.	108
1610.	First attempt to introduce the English Episcopate into Scotland. This Episcopate abolished in 1638	40
1612.	Important Harmonies of Confessions published	45
1612–1629.	Cyril Lucar and general Christian union	44
1614.	George Calixtus advocates re-union	61
1618.	James I. sends Anglicans to the Protestant Synod of Dort	43
1618–1648.	The Thirty Years' War	45
1624.	Forbes' Irenicum	41
1625–1649.	English negotiations with Rome, under Charles I.	64
1627.	*c.a.* Rupertus Meldenius publishes famous sentence	
1628–1657.	John Dury's labours for Christian union	58
1633.	"Sancta Clara" (Christopher Davenport), a Franciscan, published *Paraphrastica Expositio* of the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England for irenical purposes	
1638.	Professors of the University of Upsala indicate conditions for union with the Reformed	59
1638–1712.	Richard Simon, forerunner of modern criticism	132
1638.	Jean Astruc born, founder of modern criticism	132
1641–1648.	The Treaty of Westphalia	49
1641.	John Davenant and English activities toward union	60
1642.	Hugo Grotius published important treatises on unity	60
1643.	English and Scottish Churches unite in the Westminster Assembly	63
1643–1660.	Presbyterianism made officially the Church of Great Britain	62
1645.	George Calixtus at the Council of Thorn	61
1649.	The first S.P.G. founded	115
1649–1660.	Dr. Basire of the Anglican Church receives many courtesies from the Roman and Eastern Churches	93
1649–1691.	Richard Baxter's many labours for Christian unity	50
1652.	The Worcestershire Association founded by Baxter	56
1661.	The Savoy Conference	65
1661.	Second attempt to introduce the English Episcopate into Scotland. This Episcopate was discarded in 1689	67
1662.	The second S.P.G. founded	116
1663.	Union of Anglican and Roman Churches planned by Charles II.	109
1663–1679.	About 100 seceded Scottish clergy return to the Established Church of Scotland	155
1670.	Treaty of Dover. Proposed union with Rome, under Charles II.	
1667–1689.	Various schemes of comprehension for union of the Churches of England and Scotland	
1670–1677.	John Covel, and the Eastern Orthodox	94
1672.	The Eastern Orthodox reply as to their teachings. See Appendix	393
	and	99
1672.	Eastern Orthodox meet in the Synod of Bethlehem	94
1676, 1678.	Treatise on Eastern Churches by Thomas Smith	94
1678.	Robert Nelson attempts to found a Y.M.C.A. in England	145
1679–1716.	Leibnitz, Molanus, Spinola, Bossuet	68
1679.	Ricaut's Treatise on Greeks and Armenians published	
1682–1683.	Eastern Metropolitan Joseph petitions Archbishop of Canterbury relative to the education of Greeks in England	95
1694–1704.	Gloucester Hall, Oxford, used for education of Greeks	96
1694–1706.	Edward Stephens, Anglican, active for unity	96
1697.	The Treaty of Ryswick	110
1698.	The S.P.C.K. founded in England	116
1701.	The third and present S.P.G. founded in England	117
1701.	Metropolitan Philippopolis and others receive degrees at Oxford	96
1701.	An "Essay Towards Comprehension," published in England	100

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1701.	Frederick I. tries to introduce the English Episcopate into Prussia	170
1702.	The first missionaries of the S.P.G. have Lutheran Orders	88
1704.	"Essay on Catholic Communion," published in England	102
1704.	Frederick I. has the English Book of Common Prayer translated into German	170
1704.	Pope Clement XI. pronounces the consecration of the Scottish Episcopal Bishop, Gordon, to be null	209
1705.	John Humphrey published a proposal for the union of the Churches of England and Scotland	
1707.	The Pastors of Geneva correspond with Oxford University, hoping for mutual recognition of validity of Orders	
1713.	Gallican-Russian negotiations	72
1714.	The Treaty of Utrecht. Protestantism officially established and principle of tolerance recognized	110
1716–1717.	Metropolitan of Thebais visits England	97
1717–1719.	Archbishop Wake—Dupin Correspondence	74
1716–1725.	Non-juring Bishops correspond with the Orthodox	97
1718.	Earl Stanhope, while introducing a Bill into the House of Commons, argued for the union of all Protestants	
1719.	Archbishop Wake corresponds with Swiss Pastors	88
1721.	Courayer publishes his *English Ordinations*	80
1724.	Pope Innocent XIII. about to call a General Council	193
1727.	Beginnings of the Unitas Fratrum under Zinzendorf	
1729.	The Archbishop of Tuam, Ireland, Dr. Edward Synge, published an essay on "Catholic Christianity," advocating fewer denominations. Second edition, 1734.	
1737.	The Conversion of John Wesley, Evangelical-Catholic leader, and advocate of the Catholic spirit	162
1748.	Correspondence on Re-union between Dr. Samuel Chandler and Philip Doddridge, Presbyterians, and Bishops Gooch and Sherlock and Archbishop Herring of the Anglican Church	
1749.	Congregationalists and Scotch Presbyterians at Halifax establish "The Protestant Dissenters' Chapel"	172
1768–1834.	Friedrich Schleiermacher, philosopher of religion of the inward spirit	133
1770–1785.	J. G. de la Flechere (John Fletcher)	224
1770.	Union Presbytery formed at Halifax	
1773.	Suppression of the Jesuits by Clement XIV.	193
1780.	Naval and Military Bible Society founded	121
1780.	Robert Raikes and beginnings of Sunday Schools	142
1785.	Society for Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools	121
1787.	Union of the Regular and Special Baptists in the U.S.	
1787.	Society for Managing Sunday Schools, Glasgow	143
1792.	William Carey founds the Baptist Missionary Society	117
1792.	The French Bible Society for the French in England	121
1795.	The London Missionary Society founded by Anglicans and Dissenters	119
1796.	New York Missionary Society founded by Presbyterians, Baptists and Dutch Reformed	120
1801.	"Plan of Union" between the Connecticut General Association (Congregational) and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America. Terminated in 1837.	160
1803.	G. J. Planck advocated union of Churches in limited areas in Germany	170
1804.	Schleiermacher urged abandonment of sectarian quarrels	170
1804.	The British and Foreign Bible Society founded	121
1804.	*Sylloge Confessionum* of the Reformed Churches published to promote union among these Communions. Second edition, 1827.	
1806.	The German Bible Society founded in Berlin	122
1808.	The Philadelphia Bible Society	122
1809.	The Disciples founded in the U.S. to provide for union	147
1809.	Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey Bible Societies founded	122
1809.	Evangelical Society for the distribution of Bibles, Sweden	122

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1810.	Three Presbyteries united with Reformed Presbytery, Scotland	155
1810.	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	120
1810.	Intercommunion of diverse Presbyterians in New York City[1]	
1811.	The Calcutta, India, Bible Society	122
1811.	The Bishop of Durham for Anglican and Roman re-union	194
1812.	First Missionaries of the C.M.S. have Lutheran Orders	118
1812.	Fr. Gandolphy's revision of the English Prayer Book	195
1812.	F. G. Sack advocates German Church unity	170
1816.	The American Bible Society instituted	
1816.	The New York Sunday School Union	143
1817.	The Philadelphia Sunday School Union	143
1817.	Initiation of the movement to unite the Lutheran Synods in America with the General Synod. Completed, 1820.	299
1817.	Constitution of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia	170
1817.	Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia formed by union	172
1818.	The United Presbytery of Upper Canada formed by union	172
1819.	First meeting of the London Secretaries (Foreign Missions). Met monthly. Non-official.	
1820.	United Secession Church formed by union in Scotland	157
1820.	Completion of union of Lutheran Synods in America with the General Synod	299
1824.	Bishop J. K. Doyle of Ireland calls for union in Ireland	195
1824 (*c.*)	David Nasmith founds Young Men's Societies in England	
1824.	The American Sunday School Union founded	143
1824.	Conversion of Ambrose de Lisle to the Roman Catholic faith. Laboured much for the re-union of the Roman and Anglican Churches	
1827.	*Sylloge Confessionum*, second edition, published after revision, by Bishop Lloyd	
1827.	Continental Collection of Reformed Confessions, published, edited by J. C. W. Augusti	362
1829–1830.	Drs. Robertson and Hale of the American Protestant Episcopal Church visit the Greek Church	212
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1832.	First National Convention of Sunday School Leaders, U.S.	143
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1835.	*The Spiritual Unity of Protestant Churches exhibited in their Published Confessions*, edited by D. Stewart	362
1836.	The Wesleyan Association formed by union in England	166
1837.	*The Unity of Protestantism, being Articles of Religion from the Creeds of the Reformed Churches*, Jno. Cumming	
1837.	Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connexion formed by union	174
1838–1864.	George Spencer, as a secular and as a Passionist Priest in the Roman Church prayed and laboured incessantly for the unity of the Church. (See Spencer Jones, *England and the Holy See*, p. 406ff.)	
1838.	Dr. S. S. Schmucker issues his "Fraternal Appeal" to the American Churches	178
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1839.	The Society for the Promotion of Christian Union formed in response to Dr. Schmucker's Fraternal Appeal	178
1839.	Larger part of the Associate Synod united with the Church of Scotland	157
1840.	The Presbyterian Church of Ireland formed by union of the Synod of Ulster with the Secession Synod of Ireland	

[1] The united congregations of the Third Associate Reformed Church and a Presbyterian Church of New York communed together. This provoked wide discussion and led to the publication of *A Plea for Catholic Communion*, by J. M. Mason, the Pastor of the former Church. This incident indicates something of the progress made in intercommunion since.

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1840.	*Collectio Confessionum*, of the Reformed Church, edited by H. A. Niemeyer, published	362
1841.	Frederick William IV. of Prussia attempts to introduce the English Episcopacy into Prussia	171
1841.	Under Frederick William IV. and Archbishop Howley of Canterbury, Episcopal Bishopric established in Jerusalem	171
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1868.	Anglican Evangelicals form a Church Re-union Society	
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1878.	Bernian Evangelical Diet founded	185

[1] The English United Presbyterian Synod and the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in England and the Old English Presbyterian Church congregations united in 1876, as stated above. See Report of the Twelfth General Council of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches, *op. cit.*

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1884.	The World Evangelical Alliance meets at Copenhagen	186
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1886.	The General Convention of the American Protestant Episcopal Church issues a Quadrilateral as a minimum basis for general Christian re-union	236
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1891.	World Evangelical Alliance meets at Florence, Italy	186
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1896.	Leo XIII's. *Apostolicæ Curæ* on Anglican Orders	208
1896.	World Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System meets in Glasgow	316
1896.	The Churchmen's Union formed by members of the Broad Church Party of the Church of England	337
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1897.	Union of English-speaking Presbyterians in South Africa	
1897.	The fourth Lambeth Conference	241
1898.	Third World's Sunday School Convention, London	144
1898.	Evangelical Free Church Catechism published by the English Free Church Council	287
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1899.	The Connecticut Federation of Churches founded	123
1899.	World Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, Washington, D.C.	316
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1899.	Oxford Conference between Dissenters, and Low and High Churchmen of the Church of England	337
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1900.	Organic Union of the Presbyterian Churches of Australia with a Common General Assembly	342
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1901.	The National Federation of Churches in the U.S.	280
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CHURCH OF SCOTLAND ACT, 1921[1]

An Act to declare the lawfulness of certain Articles declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in matters spiritual prepared with the authority of the General Assembly of the Church.

(28th July, 1921.)

Whereas certain articles declaratory of the constitution of the Church of Scotland in matters spiritual have been prepared with the authority of the General Assembly of the Church, with a view to facilitate the union of other Churches with the Church of Scotland, which articles are set out in the Schedule of this Act, and together with any modifications of the said articles or additions thereto made in accordance therewith are hereinafter in this Act referred to as " the Declaratory Articles " :

And whereas it is expedient that any doubts as to the lawfulness of the Declaratory Articles should be removed :

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

1. The Declaratory Articles are lawful Articles, and the constitution of the Church of Scotland in matters spiritual is as therein set forth, and no limitation of the liberty, rights and powers in matters spiritual therein set forth shall be derived from any statute or law affecting the Church of Scotland in matters spiritual at present in force, it being hereby declared that in all questions of construction the Declaratory Articles shall prevail, and that all such statutes and laws shall be construed in conformity therewith and in subordination thereto, and all such statutes and laws in so far as they are inconsistent with the Declaratory Articles are hereby repealed and declared to be of no effect.

2. Nothing contained in this Act or in any other Act affecting the Church of Scotland shall prejudice the recognition of any other Church in Scotland as a Christian Church protected by law in the exercise of its spiritual functions.

3. Subject to the recognition of the matters dealt with in the Declaratory Articles as matters spiritual, nothing in this Act contained shall affect or prejudice the jurisdiction of the civil courts in relation to any matter of a civil nature.

SCHEDULE

ARTICLES DECLARATORY TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN MATTERS SPIRITUAL

I. The Church of Scotland is part of the Holy Catholic or Universal Church; worshipping one God, Almighty, all-wise and all-loving, in the Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the same in substance, equal in power and glory; adoring the Father, infinite in Majesty, of whom are all things; confessing our Lord Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son, made very man for our salvation; glorying in His Cross and Resurrection, and owning obedience to Him as the Head over all things to His Church; trusting in the promised renewal and guidance of the Holy Spirit; proclaiming the forgiveness of sins and acceptance with God through faith in Christ, and the gift of Eternal life; and labouring for the advancement of the Kingdom of God throughout the world. The Church of Scotland adheres to the Scottish Reformation; receives the Word of God which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as its supreme rule of faith and life; and avows the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith founded thereupon.

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[1] Printed by Eyre & Spottiswoode, Ltd., for the King's Printer of Acts of Parliament. 11 and 12, Geo. 5, Chapter XXIX.

II. The principal subordinate standard of the Church of Scotland is the Westminster Confession of Faith approved by the General Assembly of 1647, containing the sum and substance of the Faith of the Reformed Church. Its government is Presbyterian, and is exercised through Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods and General Assemblies. Its system and principles of worship, orders and discipline are in accordance with "The Directory for the Public Worship of God," "The Form of Presbyterial Church Government," and "The Form of Process," as these have been or may hereafter be interpreted or modified by Acts of the General Assembly or by consuetude.

III. This Church is in historical continuity with the Church of Scotland which was reformed in 1560, whose liberties were ratified in 1592, and for whose security provision was made in the Treaty of Union of 1707. The continuity and identity of the Church of Scotland are not prejudiced by the adoption of these Articles. As a national Church representative of the Christian Faith of the Scottish people it acknowledges its distinctive call and duty to bring the ordinances of religion to the people in every parish of Scotland through a territorial ministry.

IV. This Church, as part of the Universal Church wherein the Lord Jesus Christ has appointed a government in the hands of Church office-bearers, receives from Him, its Divine King and Head, and from Him alone, the right and power subject to no civil authority to legislate, and to adjudicate finally in all matters of doctrine, worship, government and discipline in the Church, including the right to determine all questions concerning membership and office in the Church, the Constitution and membership of its Courts and the mode of election of its office-bearers, and to define the boundaries of the spheres of labour of its ministers and other office-bearers. Recognition by civil authority of the separate and independent government and jurisdiction of this Church in matters spiritual, in whatever manner such recognition be expressed, does not in any way affect the character of this government and jurisdiction as derived from the Divine Head of the Church alone, or give to the civil authority any right of interference with the proceedings or judgments of the Church within the sphere of its spiritual government and jurisdiction.

V. This Church has the inherent right, free from interference by civil authority, but under the safeguards for deliberate action and legislation provided by the Church itself, to frame or adopt its subordinate standards, to declare the sense in which it understands its Confession of Faith, to modify the forms of expression therein, or to formulate other doctrinal statements, and to define the relation thereto of its office-bearers and members; but always in agreement with the Word of God and the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith contained in the said Confession, of which agreement the Church shall be the sole judge, and with due regard to liberty of opinion in points which do not enter into the substance of the Faith.

VI. This Church acknowledges the divine appointment and authority of the civil magistrate within his own sphere, and maintains its historic testimony to the duty of the nation acting in its corporate capacity to render homage to God, to acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ to be King over the nations, to obey His laws, to reverence His ordinances, to honour His Church and to promote in all appropriate ways the Kingdom of God. The Church and the State owe mutual duties to each other and acting within their respective spheres may signally promote each other's welfare. The Church and State have the right to determine each for itself all questions concerning the extent and the continuance of their mutual relations in the discharge of these duties and the obligations arising therefrom.

VII. The Church of Scotland, believing it to be the will of Christ that His disciples should be all one in the Father and in Him, that the world may believe that the Father has sent Him, recognizes the obligations to seek and promote union with other Churches in which it finds the Word to be purely preached, the sacraments administered according to Christ's ordinance and discipline rightly exercised; and it has the right to unite with any such Church without loss of its identity on terms which this Church finds to be consistent with these Articles.

VIII. The Church has the right to interpret these Articles and, subject to the safeguards for deliberate action and legislation provided by the Church itself, to modify or add to them; but always consistently with the provisions of the first Article hereof, adherence to which, as interpreted by the Church, is essential to its continuity and corporate life.

GREEK ORTHODOX TEACHING, 1672

A Synodical Answer to the Question: What are the Sentiments of the Oriental Church of the Grecian Orthodox; sent to the Lovers of the Greek Church in Britain in the year of our Lord 1672

It is a thing by no means below the polity of the Gospel, but rather much to the honour of it, that those who have had the advantage of being instructed by God, should always open a door of information to him that knocks, and be ready to meet him that is inquisitive after it. For, we are taught by the Apostles' command, to be ready to give an Answer to those who shall ask us an account of the Faith which is in us, and to do it with meekness in a good conscience, as we are all commanded. But since we are not able to do or think anything of ourselves, we shall make our Applications to Him that discovers all the Paths of knowledge and gives understanding to Jacob His Son, and Israel His beloved: and shall endeavour to give an answer out of the saving Doctrines of Religion, revealed unto the Orthodox by Him and His Son and Word, in whom are all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, and by the Spirit the Paraclete; having learnt to shun every word and thought that is foreign to the Doctrine of our Lord. Since, therefore, some persons, moved with I cannot tell what kind of curiosity to know some of our sentiments, have sent to us to enquire of some ecclesiastical Questions, and desire an Answer; as how many Sacraments our Catholick and Apostolick Eastern Church holds; and what is our belief concerning the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist; and as to Illumination, whether it be necessary for Infants to be baptized, with other speculative questions concerning it; concerning the High-priesthood also, whether it be necessary to the Church; and whether a Bishop is *jure divino* superior to Priests; and whether those who give the preference to celibacy, men or women, oppose the Scriptures; and whether the Catholick Church of Christ shall be always visible, and out of the reach of error; concerning the worship of Saints also, and the relative worship of images; the Injunction of fasting, and abstinence from certain meats; concerning the controverted books of the Old Testament, Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch and the Maccabees, whether we look upon them as any part of Scripture, or reject them as uncanonical performances. We do not think it right, wholly to pass over their Questions in silence, lest with others we should be censured for neglect; but have made them some short extempore answers in truth and sincerity, as far as the great unseasonableness of the time would permit us, to avoid the accusation of silence. We declare then unto the Querists, that we enjoy seven holy and venerable Sacraments, coeval with the Gospel, and all of them true and necessary unto the Salvation of the Faithful. The first is holy Baptism, by which we have remission of Original Sin and actual also, wheresoever it is; thro' which being spiritually regenerated we are again put in the way to eternal Life. The second is that of the holy Ointment; by which we receive Spiritual Strength to enable us to speak boldly the belief of our hearts. The third is that of the holy Participation; in which being spiritually nourished, we are preserved, and encrease in spiritual Life. The fourth is that of Repentance; thro' which, all actual Sins being forgiven, the good which a man has lost by sin is again renew'd in him. The fifth is Marriage; which is by the Apostle plainly declared to be a Sacrament. The sixth is that of the Priesthood, instituted by Christ, for the communion of Grace, and the ministration of the other Sacraments. The seventh of Chrism, called also by us the consecrated oyl, which has a double effect; the one conducing to the Soul's health, the other to that of the Body. But as to the venerable Sacrament of the Eucharist, we firmly believe and confess, that the living Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, is invisibly present, by an actual παρουσία in the Sacrament. For when the officiating priest has repeated the words of our Lord and says: *Make this Bread the precious Body of Thy Christ; and what is in this cup, the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing them by Thy Holy Spirit;* then by the supernatural and ineffable operation of the Holy Ghost, the bread is actually truly and properly changed into the very Body of our Saviour Christ, and the wine into His living Blood: we believe it to be intire Christ, that both

offers and is offered; that receives and is given to all; and is entirely eaten without pain. Therefore, those who worthily partake of Him, are vivified, being made one with Christ Himself; but those who do it unworthily are condemn'd, and plunge themselves into Destruction. Which Sacrament is, and is called Latria; and therein the Deified Body of Christ our Saviour is worshipped with divine worship; and is offered up as a Sacrifice for all Orthodox Christians living and dead. Concerning Baptism we believe, that it is absolutely necessary for all Infants; by which they receive the seal of Christ's servants, and renouncing the Devil are, by their Sponsor and pledge, united to Christ for their purgation from original sin, to preserve them from the snares of the enemy (for, an unsealed Treasure is liable to thieves: and a sheep not marked, is easily ensnared; says the Great Basil); and to make them susceptive of happiness. For he that is not regenerated from above, is uncapable of the Kingdom of Heaven. And tho' they are not yet possessed of Faith, yet they are justified by the grace of God thro' the faith of the Church and of their Parents. As to the Questions concerning Baptism, we say, that in Holy Baptism, Original Sin is perfectly done away. So that if any baptized person should happen to dye in infidelity, we must not say that his Baptism did not cleanse him from Original Sin; for, we acknowledge, that a person once justified and made the Son of God, may after his Justification fall from Grace, thro' unbelief or some other deadly sin, and be joined to Satan, and be made the Child of the Devil: for the commission of sin alienates from the Lord and associates to the Devil, says Ouranophantor.[1] Notwithstanding, therefore, a man be once justified, he is uncertain whether he shall remain so unto the end. For, as we said, he may fall, and be disappointed of his portion among the elect. Therefore, Saint Peter commands us to make our election sure by good works; *The rather, Brethren*, says he, *give diligence to make your calling and election sure;* then he adds, *for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall.*[2] And St. Paul, to put them the more upon their guard, says: *Let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall.*[3] The same author will serve to their other Question, that a person formerly justified, if he falls into fornication, adultery, murder and such like, and does not recover himself by repentance, he wholly cuts himself off from the adoption and grace he had obtain'd and disappoints himself of eternal life: *For the Wages of Sin is death.*[4] As to the necessity of the High-priesthood to the Church, we say, that our great High-priest who is passed into the Heavens, hath placed in the Church *Pastors and Teachers*, as says the Apostle, *for the perfecting of the Saints, and the edifying the body of the Church.*[5] As necessary, therefore, as is the edifying the body of the Church, so necessary is the High-priesthood, by which that edification is perfected: and, Christ's being an High-Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedeck, can no otherways be effected than by the Priests his successors, in the midst of whom he constantly officiates, and will do so unto the end of the world. But the foundation and source of the Priesthood is no other than the Bishop, as Saint Dionysius says. Nor indeed can he be a Priest, who is not called to that office by episcopal Ordination. Therefore, Titus and Timotheus were by the Apostles necessarily vouchsafed the Episcopate, to ordain in every City Deacons and Priests and other inferior Ministers, for the completing the sacred Economy of Christ's Church. From hence we may collect the other question, that a Bishop is *jure divino* superior to Priests, who from him receive the Divine Grace, and minister in a capacity subordinate to him. For the less is blessed of the greater, and is altogether subject to it. As for those who are against marrying, and choose to keep their Virginity, whether men or women, we do by no means say, they oppose the Holy Scriptures. On the contrary, they will receive more glorious Crowns from God, as having made choice of the better plan of salvation. *For he that marries does well; but he that marries not, does better*, says the Apostle: *For the unmarried person cares for the things of the Lord, how to please the Lord; but he that marries, cares for the things of the world, how he may please his wife.*[6] But it is better to care for the things of the Lord, than to care for the things of the world; and he that does so shall be espoused with a better reward. Concerning the Catholick Orthodox Church of Christ, we say, that it is infallible; as being under the direction of its proper head which is Christ, who is Truth itself, and under the Guidance of the Spirit of Truth. It is impossible for her to be deceived by these Guides; there-

[1] St. Basil.
[2] II. Peter i, 10.
[3] I. Corinthians x, 12.
[4] Romans iv, 23.
[5] Ephesians iv, 4, 12.
[6] I. Corinthians vii, 38, 32.

fore, she is called by the Apostle, *the pillar and ground of truth.*[1] But she will also be always visible; because the Orthodox will never fail from off the Earth until the end of the world; for *all shall not sleep, yet shall all be changed*[2] as the Apostle speaking of the Faithful, says. It is plain then, that the Church of Christ will always be visible unto the end of the world. We worship the Saints, as those who have suffer'd for Christ; and we make them Mediators with God, as the friends of God, and such as have a liberty of access to Him; asking help of God thro' them, which from many places of Holy Scripture may be proved to be a work of piety, and necessary for our Assistance. As for what some say, that to worship the immaculate Mother of God according to her merit, as more glorious than the immaterial Powers, and His saints with reverence, is a diminution of the honour due to Jesus; we look upon it as vain talk: for, they are different ways of worship; nor is the worship and honour of Christ, which is performed with Latria, lessen'd by it. Besides, we believe that the Prayers and supplications of the Friends and virtuous men, are acceptable to God: and we do always reverently petition for them, according to the directions we find in many places of Holy Scripture, and according to Paul, who from the womb of his mother was separated unto the Gospel of God; whom we hear saying unto the Romans, *Strive together with me in your Prayers to God for me.*[3] And he makes the same entreaty in his Epistle to the Ephesians, and Hebrews. Besides, we embrace the most pious and profitable custom of worshipping Images, as having been begun in the Apostolic age, according to ecclesiastical history; worshipping them, not with Latria, but relatively. We don't fix our thoughts upon the wood or paint; but through them we are put in mind of, and refer the honour to the Archtype. As to fasting; we confess the Church has a power to enjoin it, and also Abstinence from certain meats, as it has been always done among us: for, by such Obligations to fasting, the Christian Complement is purified: Nor do we only hold a mere fast, but also abstain from various Meats; flesh, fish and cheese; and such injunctions are rightly made, for the mortification of the Lusts of the flesh, to dispose us the better to prayer, and for the advantages of humiliation. As for the books of Scripture; we find them differently numbered by the Apostolical Canons and those of the holy Synods of Laodicea and Carthage (not to mention the Clementine Constitutions, which the second Canon of the sixth Council rejects, as being corrupted by Hereticks), which he that will may consult, and be satisfied what books of the Old Testament are not included in the number of the ἀγιόγραφα: tho' those books which are not so included, are not therefore repudiated as heathen or profane writings, but have the Character of good and pious performances, and are not wholly laid aside. This we offer at present, as a compendious Answer to the Querists; making an open and sincere confession of our Religion, for their information in our orthodox sentiments; that they may have no room to doubt of them hereafter, nor be moved by any, who are disposed to say false things of us. Written in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in the year 1672, in the month of January, 10th day.

DIONYSIUS, by the Mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch.

The signatures of thirty-six Eastern Orthodox prelates follow, including those of four past Patriarchs of Constantinople, that of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and those of one Archbishop and of thirty Bishops.

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[1] I. Corinthians xv, 51. [2] I. Timothy iii, 15. [3] Romans xv, 30.

LAUSANNE CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS[1]

PREAMBLE

Unanimously adopted by the full Conference, August 20th, 1927.

We, representatives of many Christian Communions throughout the world, united in the common confession of faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God, our Lord and Saviour, believing that the Spirit of God is with us, are assembled to consider the things wherein we agree and the things wherein we differ. We now receive the following series of reports as containing subject matter for the consideration of our respective Churches in their common search for unity.

This is a Conference summoned to consider matters of Faith and Order. It is emphatically *not* attempting to define the conditions of future re-union. Its object is to register the apparent level of fundamental agreements within the Conference and the grave points of disagreement remaining; also to suggest certain lines of thought which may in the future tend to a fuller measure of agreement.

Each subject on the agenda was first discussed in plenary session. It was then committed to one of the sections, of more than one hundred members each, into which the whole Conference was divided. The report, after full discussion in subsections, was finally drawn up and adopted unanimously or by a large majority vote in the section to which it had been committed. It was twice presented for further discussion to a plenary session of the Conference when it was referred to the Churches in its present form.

Though we recognize the reports to be neither exhaustive nor in all details satisfactory to every member of the Conference, we submit them to the Churches for that deliberate consideration which could not be given in the brief period of our sessions. We thank God and rejoice over the agreements reached; upon our agreements we build. Where the reports record differences, we call upon the Christian World to an earnest reconsideration of the conflicting opinions now held, and a strenuous endeavour to reach the truth as it is in God's mind, which should be the foundation of the Church's unity.

REPORT OF SECTION I

Unanimously adopted by the full Conference, August 20th, 1927.

The Call to Unity

God wills unity. Our presence in this Conference bears testimony to our desire to bend our wills to His. However we may justify the beginnings of dis-union, we lament its continuance and henceforth must labour, in penitence and faith, to build up our broken walls.

God's Spirit has been in the midst of us. It was He who called us hither. His presence has been manifest in our worship, our deliberations and our whole fellowship. He has discovered us to one another. He has enlarged our horizons, quickened our understanding, and enlivened our hope. We have dared and God has justified our daring. We can never be the same again. Our deep thankfulness must find expression in sustained endeavour to share the visions vouchsafed us here with those smaller home groups where our lot is cast.

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[1] As received in final form by The World Conference on Faith and Order, at Lausanne, Switzerland, on the dates mentioned. The author of this book was a member of the delegation of the American Methodist Episcopal Church at this Conference.

More than half the world is waiting for the Gospel. At home and abroad sad multitudes are turning away in bewilderment from the Church because of its corporate feebleness. Our missions count that as a necessity which we are inclined to look upon as a luxury. Already the mission field is impatiently revolting from the divisions of the Western Church to make bold adventure for unity in its own right. We of the Churches represented in this Conference cannot allow our spiritual children to outpace us. We with them must gird ourselves to the task, the early beginnings of which God has so richly blessed, and labour side by side until our common goal is reached.

Some of us, pioneers in this undertaking, have grown old in our search for unity. It is to youth that we look to lift the torch on high. We men have carried it too much alone through many years. The women henceforth should be accorded their share of responsibility. And so the whole Church will be enabled to do that which no section can hope to perform.

It was God's clear call that gathered us here. With faith stimulated by His guidance to us here, we move forward.

REPORT OF SECTION II

Received by the full Conference, nem. con., August 19th, 1927.

The Church's Message to the World—The Gospel

The message of the Church to the World is and must always remain the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The Gospel is the joyful message of redemption, both here and hereafter, the gift of God to sinful man in Jesus Christ.

The world was prepared for the coming of Christ through the activities of God's Spirit in all humanity, but especially in His revelation as given in the Old Testament; and in the fullness of time the eternal Word of God became incarnate, and was made man, Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Son of Man, full of grace and truth.

Through His life and teaching, His call to repentance, His proclamation of the coming of the Kingdom of God and of judgment, His suffering and death, His resurrection and exaltation to the right hand of the Father, and by the mission of the Holy Spirit, He has brought to us forgiveness of sins, and has revealed the fullness of the living God, and His boundless love toward us. By the appeal of that love, shown in its completeness on the Cross, He summons us to the new life of faith, self-sacrifice and devotion to His service and the service of men.

Jesus Christ, as the crucified and the living One, as Saviour and Lord, is also the centre of the world-wide Gospel of the Apostles and the Church. Because He Himself is the Gospel, the Gospel is the message of the Church to the world. It is more than a philosophical theory; more than a theological system; more than a programme for material betterment. The Gospel is rather the gift of a new world from God to this old world of sin and death, the revelation of eternal life in Him who has knit together the whole family in Heaven and on earth in the communion of saints, united in the fellowship of service, of prayer, and of praise.

The Gospel is the prophetic call to sinful man to turn to God, the joyful tidings of justification and of sanctification to those who believe in Christ. It is the comfort of those who suffer; to those who are bound, it is the assurance of the glorious liberty of the sons of God. The Gospel brings peace and joy to the heart, and produces in men self-denial, readiness for brotherly service and compassionate love. It offers the supreme goal for the aspirations of youth, strength to the toiler, rest to the weary and the crown of life to the martyr.

The Gospel is the sure source of power for social regeneration. It proclaims the only way by which humanity can escape from those class and race hatreds which devastate society at present into the enjoyment of national well-being and international friendship and peace. It is also the gracious invitation to the non-Christian World, East and West, to enter into the joy of the living Lord.

Sympathizing with the anguish of our generation, with its longing for intellectual sincerity, social justice and spiritual inspiration, the Church in the

eternal Gospel meets the needs and fulfills the God-given aspirations of the modern world. Consequently, as in the past so also in the present, the Gospel is the only way of salvation. Thus, through His Church, the living Christ still says to men: "Come unto me! . . . He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."

REPORT OF SECTION III

Received by the full Conference, nem. con., August 19th, 1927.

The Nature of the Church

God who has given us the Gospel for the salvation of the world has appointed His Church to witness by life and word to its redeeming power. The Church of the Living God is constituted by His own will, not by the will or consent or beliefs of men whether as individuals or as societies, though He uses the will of men as His instrument. Of this Church Jesus Christ is the Head, the Holy Spirit its continuing life.

The Church as the communion of believers in Christ Jesus is, according to the New Testament, the people of the New Covenant; the Body of Christ; and the Temple of God, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone.

The Church is God's chosen instrument by which Christ, through the Holy Spirit, reconciles men to God through faith, bringing their wills into subjection to His sovereignty, sanctifying them through the means of grace, and uniting them in love and service to be His witnesses and fellow-workers in the extension of His rule on earth until His Kingdom come in glory.

As there is but one Christ, and one life in Him, and one Holy Spirit who guides into all truth, so there is and can be but one Church, holy, catholic, and apostolic.

The Church on earth possesses certain characteristics whereby it can be known of men. These have been, since the days of the Apostles, at least the following:

1. The possession and acknowledgment of the Word of God as given in Holy Scripture and interpreted by the Holy Spirit to the Church and to the individual. (Note A.)
2. The profession of faith in God as He is incarnate and revealed in Christ.
3. The acceptance of Christ's commission to preach the Gospel to every creature.
4. The observance of the Sacraments.
5. A ministry for the pastoral office, the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the Sacraments.
6. A fellowship in prayer, in worship, in all the means of grace, in the pursuit of holiness, and in the service of man.

As to the extent and manner in which the Church thus described finds expression in the existing Churches, we differ. Our differences chiefly concern:

1. The nature of the Church visible and the Church invisible, their relation to each other, and the number of those who are included in each. (Note B.)
2. The significance of our divisions past and present. (Note C.)

Whatever our views on these points, we are convinced that it is the will of Christ that the one life of the one body should be manifest to the world. To commend the Gospel to doubting, sinful and bewildered men, a united witness is necessary. We therefore urge most earnestly that all Christians, in fulfilment of our Saviour's prayer that His disciples may be one, reconsecrate themselves to God, that by the help of His Spirit the body of Christ may be built up, its members united in faith and love, and existing obstacles to the manifestation of their unity in Christ may be removed; that the world may believe that the Father has sent Him.

We join in the prayer that the time may be hastened when in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.

NOTES

(A) Some hold that this interpretation is given through the tradition of the Church; others through the immediate witness of the Spirit to the heart and conscience of believers; others through both combined.

(B) For instance:

1. Some hold that the invisible Church is wholly in Heaven; others include in it all true believers on earth, whether contained in any organization or not.
2. Some hold that the visible expression of the Church was determined by Christ Himself, and is therefore unchangeable; others that the one Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit may express itself in varying forms.
3. Some hold that one or other of the existing Churches is the only true Church; others that the Church as we have described it is to be found in some or all of the existing Communions taken together.
4. Some, while recognizing other Christian bodies as Churches, are persuaded that in the providence of God and by the teaching of history a particular form of ministry has been shown to be necessary to the best welfare of the Church; others hold that no one form of organization is inherently preferable; still others, that no organization is necessary.

(C) One view is that no division of Christendom has ever come to pass without sin. Another view is that the divisions were the inevitable outcome of different gifts of the Spirit and different understandings of the truth. Between these, there is the view of those who look back on the divisions of the past with penitence and sorrow coupled with a lively sense of God's mercy, which in spite of and even through these divisions has advanced His cause in the world.

REPORT OF SECTION IV

Received by the full Conference, nem. con., August 19th, 1927.

The Church's Common Confession of Faith

We members of the Conference on Faith and Order, coming from all parts of the world in the interest of Christian unity, have with deep gratitude to God found ourselves united in common prayer, to God our Heavenly Father and His Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.

Notwithstanding the difference in doctrine among us, we are united in a common Christian Faith which is proclaimed in the Holy Scriptures and is witnessed to and safeguarded in the Ecumenical Creed, commonly called the Nicene, and in the Apostles' Creed, which Faith is continually confirmed in the spiritual experience of the Church of Christ.

We believe that the Holy Spirit in leading the Church into all truth may enable it, while firmly adhering to the witness of these Creeds (our common heritage from the ancient Church), to express the truths of revelation in such other forms as new problems may from time to time demand.

Finally, we desire to leave on record our solemn and unanimous testimony that no external and written standards can suffice without an inward and personal experience of union with God in Christ.

NOTES

1. It must be noted that the Orthodox Eastern Church can accept the Nicene Creed only in its uninterpolated form without the *filioque* clause; and that although the Apostles' Creed has no place in the formularies of this Church, it is in accord with its teaching.

2. It must be noted also that some of the Churches represented in this Conference conjoin tradition with the Scriptures, some are explicit in subordinating Creeds to the Scriptures, some attach a primary importance to their particular Confessions, and some make no use of Creeds.

3. It is understood that the use of these Creeds will be determined by the competent authority in each Church, and that the several Churches will continue to make use of such special Confessions as they possess.

REPORT OF SECTION V

Received by the full Conference, nem. con., August 20th, 1927.

The Ministry of the Church

We members of the Conference on Faith and Order are happy to report that we find ourselves in substantial accord in the following five propositions:

1. The ministry is a gift of God through Christ to His Church and is essential to the being and well-being of the Church.
2. The ministry is perpetually authorized and made effective through Christ and His Spirit.
3. The purpose of the ministry is to impart to men the saving and sanctifying benefits of Christ through pastoral service, the preaching of the Gospel, and the administration of the sacraments, to be made effective by faith.
4. The ministry is entrusted with the government and discipline of the Church, in whole or in part.
5. Men gifted for the work of the ministry, called by the Spirit and accepted by the Church, are commissioned through an act of ordination by prayer and the laying on of hands to exercise the function of this ministry.

Within the many Christian communions into which in the course of history Christendom has been divided, various forms of ministry have grown up according to the circumstances of the several communions and their beliefs as to the mind of Christ and the guidance of the New Testament. These communions have been, in God's providence, manifestly and abundantly used by the Holy Spirit in His work of enlightening the world, converting sinners and perfecting saints. But the differences which have arisen in regard to the authority and functions of these various forms of ministry have been and are the occasion of manifold doubts, questions and misunderstandings.

These differences concern the nature of the ministry (whether consisting of one or several orders), the nature of ordination and of the grace conferred thereby, the function and authority of bishops, and the nature of apostolic succession. We believe that the first step toward the overcoming of these difficulties is the frank recognition that they exist and the clear definition of their nature. We therefore add as an appendix to our Report such a statement, commending it to the thoughtful consideration of the Churches we represent.

By these differences the difficulties of inter-communion have been accentuated to the distress and wounding of faithful souls, while in the mission field, where the Church is fulfilling its primary object to preach the Gospel to every creature, the young Churches find the lack of unity a very serious obstacle to the furtherance of the Gospel. Consequently the provision of a ministry acknowledged in every part of the Church as possessing the sanction of the whole Church is an urgent need.

There has not been time in this Conference to consider all the points of difference between us in the matter of the ministry with that care and patience which could alone lead to complete agreement. The same observation applies equally to proposals for the constitution of the united Church. Certain suggestions as to possible Church organizations have been made, which we transmit to the Churches with the earnest hope that common study of these questions will be continued by the members of the various Churches represented in this Conference.

In view of (1) the place which the episcopate, the councils of presbyters and the congregation of the faithful, respectively, had in the constitution of the early Church, and (2) the fact that episcopal, presbyteral and congregational systems of government are each to-day, and have been for centuries, accepted by great communions in Christendom, and (3) the fact that episcopal, presbyteral and congregational systems are each believed by many to be essential to the good order of the Church, we therefore recognize that these several elements must all, under conditions which require further study, have an appropriate place in the order of life of a re-united Church, and that each separate communion, recalling the abundant blessing of God vouchsafed to its ministry in the past, should gladly bring to the common life of the united Church its own spiritual treasures.

If the foregoing suggestion be accepted and acted upon, it is essential that the acceptance of any special form of ordination as the regular and orderly method of introduction into the ministry of the Church for the future should not be interpreted to imply the acceptance of any one particular theory of the origin, character or function of any office in the Church, or to involve the acceptance of any adverse judgment on the validity of ordination in those branches of the Church universal that believe themselves to have retained valid and apostolic Orders under other forms of ordination; or as disowning or discrediting a past or present ministry of the Word and Sacrament which has been used and blessed by the Spirit of God.

It is further recognized that inasmuch as the Holy Spirit is bestowed upon every believer, and each believer has an immediate access to God through Jesus Christ, and since special gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as teaching, preaching and spiritual counsel, are the treasures of the Church as well as of the individual, it is necessary and proper that the Church should make fuller use of such gifts for the development of its corporal spiritual life and for the extension of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, our Lord.

In particular, we share in the conviction, repeatedly expressed in this Conference, that pending the solution of the questions of faith and order in which agreements have not yet been reached, it is possible for us, not simply as individuals but as Churches, to unite in the activities of brotherly service which Christ has committed to His disciples. We therefore commend to our Churches the consideration of the steps which may be immediately practicable to bring our existing unity in service to more effective expression.

In conclusion, we express our thankfulness to Almighty God for the great progress which has been made in recent years in the mutual approach of the Churches to one another, and our conviction that we must go forward with faith and courage, confident that with the blessing of God we shall be able to solve the problems that lie before us.

NOTES

1. The following is the view of the Orthodox Church, as formulated for us by its representatives:

> "The Orthodox Church, regarding the ministry as instituted in the Church by Christ Himself, and as the body which by a special *charisma* is the organ through which the Church spreads its means of grace such as the sacraments, and believing that the ministry in its threefold form of bishops, presbyters and deacons can only be based on the unbroken apostolic succession, regrets that it is unable to come in regard to the ministry into some measure of agreement with many of the Churches represented at this Conference; but prays God that He will guide to union even in regard to this difficult point of disagreement."

2. In Western Christendom also there are conspicuous differences.

One representative view included the following points: (*a*) that there have always been various grades of the ministry, each with its own function; (*b*) that ordination is a sacramental act of divine institution, and therefore indispensable, conveying the special *charisma* for the particular ministry; (*c*) that bishops who have received their office by succession from the Apostles are the necessary ministers of ordination; (*d*) that the apostolic succession so understood is necessary for the authority of the ministry, the visible unity of the Church, and the validity of the sacraments.

On the other hand it is held by many Churches represented in the Conference (*a*) that essentially there is only one ministry, that of the Word and Sacraments; (*b*) that the existing ministries in these Churches are agreeable to the New Testament, are proved by their fruits and have due authority in the Church, and the sacraments ministered by them are valid; (*c*) that no particular form of ministry is necessary to be received as a matter of faith; (*d*) that the grace which fits men for the ministry is immediately given by God, and is recognized, not conferred, in ordination.

Further we record that there are views concerning the ministry which are intermediate between the types just mentioned. For instance, some who adhere to an episcopal system of Church government do not consider that the apostolic succession as described above is a vital element of episcopacy, or they reject it altogether. Others do not regard as essential the historic episcopate. Those who adhere to presbyteral systems of Church government believe that the apostolic ministry is transmissible and has been transmitted through presbyters orderly associated for the purpose. Those who adhere to the congregational system of government define their ministry as having been and being transmitted according to the precedent and example of the New Testament.

REPORT OF SECTION VI

Received by the full Conference, nem. con., August 20th, 1927.

The Sacraments

We are convinced that for the purpose in view of this Conference we should not go into detail in considering Sacraments—by some called "mysteries." The purpose, therefore, of this statement is to show that there may be a common approach to and appreciation of Sacraments on the part of those who otherwise differ in conception and interpretation.

We testify to the fact that the Christian World gives evidence of an increasing sense of the significance and value of Sacraments, and would express our belief that this movement should be fostered and guided as a means of deepening the life and experience of the Churches. In this connection we recognize that the Sacraments have special reference to the corporate life and fellowship of the Church and that the grace is conveyed by the Holy Spirit, taking of the things of Christ and applying them to the soul through faith.

We agree that Sacraments are of divine appointment and that the Church ought thankfully to observe them as divine gifts.

We hold that in the Sacraments there is an outward sign and an inward grace, and that the Sacraments are means of grace through which God works invisibly in us. We recognize also that in the gifts of His grace God is not limited by His own Sacraments.

The Orthodox Church and others hold that there are seven Sacraments and that for their valid administration there must be a proper form, a proper matter, and a proper ministry. Others can regard only Baptism and the Lord's Supper as Sacraments. Others again, while attaching high value to the Sacramental principle, do not make use of the outward signs of Sacraments, but hold that all spiritual benefits are given through immediate contact with God through His Spirit. In this Conference we lay stress on the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, because they are the Sacraments which are generally acknowledged by the members of this Conference.

We believe that in Baptism administered with water in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, for the remission of sins, we are baptized by one Spirit into one body. By this statement it is not meant to ignore the differences in conception, interpretation and mode which exist among us.

We believe that in the Holy Communion our Lord is present, that we have fellowship with God our Father in Jesus Christ His Son, our living Lord, who is our one Bread, given for the life of the world, sustaining the life of all His people, and that we are in fellowship with all others who are united to Him. We agree that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the Church's most sacred act of wor-

ship, in which the Lord's atoning death is commemorated and proclaimed, and that it is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving and an act of solemn self-oblation.

There are among us divergent views, especially as to (1) the mode and manner of the presence of our Lord; (2) the conception of the commemoration and the sacrifice; (3) the relation of the elements to the grace conveyed; and (4) the relation between the minister of this Sacrament and the validity and efficacy of the rite. We are aware that the reality of the divine presence and gift in this Sacrament cannot be adequately apprehended by human thought or expressed in human language.

We close this statement with the prayer that the differences which prevent full communion at the present time may be removed.

REPORT OF SECTION VII[1]

The Unity of Christendom in Relation to Existing Churches

1. *Fellowship in Life and Work*

As the individual is tested by the divine rule ("Ye shall know them by their fruits") so also the unity of the disciples is proved by their fellowship in the service of the Master.

All Christians in fulfilling the Master's law of love should act together as if they were one body in visible fellowship without any injury to theological principles. In 1920 the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued to Christendom an Encyclical letter proposing a *koinonia ton ekklesion*, a league of Churches for practical purposes, without authority to commit the Churches. It was followed by the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work (Stockholm, 1925). The task of that Conference should be continued and strengthened, and will surely prepare the way for fuller spiritual unity through faith in God and our Lord Jesus Christ, the faith underlying and inspiring all Christian life and work. A Council of the Churches for practical purposes might be well evolved from the Continuation Committee on Life and Work, consisting of representatives officially appointed by almost all Christian communions, and from other organizations of a similar nature.

2. *Fellowship in Faith and Order*

The present movement towards unity in faith and order which has found expression at Lausanne, yields the idea of one Church united in the essentials of faith and order, and including diverse types of doctrinal statement and of the administration of Church ordinances.

Every existing Church has its own *charisma* and its own historic tradition. It has, therefore, a contribution to make to the whole. The common historic tradition of Christianity has also to be considered. In the primitive Church the Body was one, yet there was variety in the expression of doctrine and also diversity of practice.

In the united Church there must be:

1. A common Faith, a common Message to the world. (Reports II and IV.)
2. Baptism as the rite of incorporation into the one Church.
3. Holy Communion as expressing the corporate life of the Church and its signal act of corporate worship. (Report VI.)
4. A ministry accepted throughout the universal Church. (Report V.)
5. Freedom of interpretation about Sacramental grace and ministerial order and authority.

There is a difference of view as to the extent of this freedom. Professor Balanos made the following statement:

"The Greek Church, which regards the holy tradition of the Church besides the Holy Scriptures as *norma fidei*, cannot recognize liberty in regard to interpretation about Sacramental grace and ministerial order and authority."

6. Due provision for the exercise of the prophetic gift.

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[1] Christian Unity expresses itself in love, in faith and in the order of the Church.

3. *Ways of Approach*

In preparation for closer fellowship, each section of the Church should seek more intimate knowledge of faith and life, worship and order in other Communions. Differences founded in complicated historic developments may sometimes prove to be less important than they are supposed to be. As our several Communions come to understand each other better they will refrain from competitive propaganda to exalt the one by depreciating another.

The unity of the Church is most effectively promoted by constant prayer for one another on the part of the various Communions : and such prayer is especially needed for all who are passing through suffering.

We would also stress the value of different Communions engaging in joint Evangelistic work. There is abundant evidence that when Communions undertake together the divine task of bringing the love of Christ to those who do not know Him, they find themselves in the closest Spiritual unity.

When different Christian denominations are represented in the same community, differences in creed, worship and practice should not prevent individuals and Communions from working together in recognition of the principle of comity, mutual consideration and Christian courtesy.

We note with gratitude to God the recent increase of effective co-operation on the mission field. The purpose of all missionary work is to carry the eternal Gospel to the ends of the earth, so that it may meet the Spiritual needs of every nation and bring all men to their Saviour. The urgency and greatness of that task has led to the accomplishment of some unions, and to the proposal of plans which are attracting the attention of the older Communions and may prove to provide examples for them. We trust that the old, long-standing divisions will not be permitted to frustrate such plans.

4. *Completed Fellowship*

Complete fellowship in the Church will not be realized until the way is opened for all God's children to join in communion at the Lord's Table. Only through prayer and thoughtful deliberation can steps be taken towards full communion between the different sections of Christendom. Ambiguous statements and hasty measures may hinder the work of unification. Only when full mutual recognition has been obtained, can the visible unity of the Church be effectively realized.

Nor should we forget that, greatest of all, God's mercy and sonship in His family are granted to every faithful soul. God give us wisdom and courage to do His will !

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

Drafted by the Chairman of the Conference at its Request.

We have finished our immediate task. From first to last we are able to express it in constructive terms written and received, whether they be statements of agreement or statements of difference, in brotherly love and mutual consideration. They are the product of the minds of men who earnestly desired and strove to place and keep themselves under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit. Human imperfections which mingle with them we pray God to pardon. In offering to Him our handiwork we are but returning to Him that which He has given us. We pray His acceptance of and blessing upon our offering.

However, we have not finished our whole task. We have but taken a step on a long journey. The Conference was only a new starting-point. What we did there will crumble into dust unless the representatives at Lausanne bring home to their several Churches the duty and responsibility of studying the Reports which they themselves received for this very purpose. The Conference should be repeated in every main ecclesiastical assembly, as well as in each separate congregation throughout our entire Christian constituency if we are to take full advantage of the progress registered. By our presence and activity at Lausanne we are solemnly pledged to reproduce, each in his own local circle, the Spirit which made the World Conference on Faith and Order what it was. " I pray you to give me the utter joy of knowing you are living in harmony, with the same feelings of love, with one heart and soul, never acting for private ends or from

vanity, but humbly considering each other the better man, and each with an eye to the interests of others as well as his own. Treat one another with the same spirit as you experience in Christ Jesus."[1]

We who have been privileged to labour together have done so in the joyousness of unhampered freedom. We must not forget, in the liberty which is to us a commonplace, the sufferings which some of our Christian brethren are at this very moment undergoing. Deprived of liberty, in hostile surroundings, their cry goes up to God from the house of their martyrdom. Our prayers enfold them and our sympathy stretches out affectionate arms toward them.

Finally, we commend the Christian Churches, whether represented in the Conference or not, to our Heavenly Father's guidance and safe-keeping, looking earnestly toward the day when the full mind of God will control all the affairs of mankind.

REPORT OF SECTION VII

The Unity of Christendom and the Relation Thereto of the Existing Churches

(As finally sent to the Churches)

The Report of Section VII as printed just above, having been objected to by a very few of the Catholic delegates acting as individuals, was referred by the Continuation Committee to a special Drafting Committee. The Drafting Committee was composed of the Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. A. C. Headlam (Chairman), Dr. William Adams Brown, the Rt. Rev. Bishop James De Wolf Perry, General Supt. Dr. Otto Debelius, Dr. Timothy Tingfang Lew, and His Grace, the Most Rev. Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Upsala. Their report, with certain minor amendments, was adopted by the Business Committee on December 21st, 1927, and sent on to the Churches. It was as follows:

REPORT OF SECTION VII

The Unity of Christendom and the Relation thereto of Existing Churches

Reports II to VI register the degree of unity in the conception of the Church to which the Conference has thus far attained. It remains in this closing report to consider the consequences which follow for the existing Churches.

I

Report II declares that "the message of the Church to the world is and must always remain the Gospel of Jesus Christ . . . the joyful message of redemption both here and hereafter the gift of God to sinful man in Jesus Christ."

Report III declares that "God who has given us the Gospel for the salvation of the world has appointed His Church to witness by life and word to its redeeming power . . . As there is but one Christ, and one life in Him, and one Holy Spirit who guides into all truth, so there is and can be but one Church, holy, catholic, and apostolic."

Report IV declares that "notwithstanding the differences in doctrine among us we are united in a common Christian Faith which is proclaimed in the Holy Scriptures and is witnessed to and safeguarded in the Ecumenical Creed, commonly called the Nicene, and in the Apostles' Creed, which Faith is continually confirmed in the spiritual experience of the Church of Christ."

Report V declares that "the ministry is a gift of God through Christ to His Church and is essential to the being and well-being of the Church . . . The purpose of the ministry is to impart to men the saving and sanctifying benefits of Christ

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[1] Phil. ii, 2–5, Moffatt's translation.

through pastoral service, the preaching of the Gospel, and the administration of the Sacraments, to be made effective by faith."

Report VI declares that "Sacraments are of divine appointment and that the Church ought thankfully to observe them as divine gifts"; that they "have special reference to the corporate life and fellowship of the Church and that the grace is conveyed by the Holy Spirit, taking of the things of Christ and applying them to the soul through faith."

II

The unity of the Church implies a unity in Faith and Order, but it does not mean uniformity. There must be space for divers types of expression, provided that those things which safeguard the unity in essentials are maintained. The various communions should bring into the common life of the Church those elements which express their characteristic gifts, so that nothing of the rich variety which marks Christian experience will be lost, and the liberty of interpretation within the limits of the accepted faith will be preserved.

Further, there are differences as to the ultimate form which it is God's will His Church should take. Some hold that this form "was determined by Christ Himself and is, therefore, unchangeable; others that the one Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit may express itself in varying forms" (Report III), and therefore make place in their view of the Church of the future for diversity of doctrine, worship and order. Still others admit diversity of worship and order, but not of doctrine.

This difference of ideal affects the view taken of the steps through which the ideal is to be reached, some interpreting the limit of legitimate variation in doctrinal statement and in the administration of Church ordinances more strictly than others; but there is widespread agreement that there must be some unity of faith and practice and some liberty of interpretation as to the nature of Sacramental grace and of ministerial order and authority. (See the appended "Note to Section II.")

III

As the individual disciple is known by his fruits, so the unity of the disciples is shown by their fellowship in the service of the Master. Report V declares that, "pending the solution of the questions of faith and order in which agreements have not yet been reached, it is possible for us, not simply as individuals but as Churches, to unite in the activities of brotherly service which Christ has committed to His disciples"; but there is difference as to the exact form this co-operation should take.

In his Encyclical Letter of 1920, the Ecumenical Patriarch proposed "that a league or council of the Churches should be formed for practical purposes." It has been suggested that such a council might be evolved from already existing organizations, such as the Continuation Committee on Life and Work, consisting of representatives officially appointed by almost all the Christian communions, and other organizations of similar nature. Some of us believe that such a council if formed should include, as its two branches, questions of life and work and of faith and order. Others believe that, for the present, it would be wiser for the movements represented by Stockholm and Lausanne to develop in independence, each following its own way; but there is general agreement that ultimately life, work, faith and order are expressions of an existing spiritual unity, and that each requires the other for its complete fruition. "We therefore commend to our Churches the consideration of the steps which may be immediately practicable to bring our existing unity in service to more effective expression" (Report V).

IV

As material for such consideration, the following suggestions which it was impossible adequately to discuss at Lausanne are passed on to the Churches:

1. In preparation for closer fellowship, each communion should seek more intimate knowledge of the faith and life, worship and order of the others. Differences which are the outgrowth of complicated historical developments, may preserve some aspect of truth or of life which is of value to the Church

as a whole, or they may sometimes prove to be less important than they are supposed to be. As the different communions come to know one another better, they will grow in understanding and in appreciation of one another.

2. It has not been possible for the Conference to consider with the care which it deserves the relation of the existing Churches to one another or the place which each or any of them may hold in the undivided Church. We commend to the Churches the suggestions which have been made on this subject in the addresses delivered at the Conference. In the meantime, we welcome the movement already under way for the union of bodies of similar doctrine, polity and worship, and trust that it may continue with ever greater success.

3. Pending the complete, organic union of the different Churches, we note with satisfaction a number of movements for practical co-operation along social, Evangelistic and other lines. Experience shows that it has been possible for widely separate bodies to co-operate in such movements with mutual profit and without surrender of principle. (See the appended " Notes to Section IV," Note A.) There is abundant evidence that when communions undertake together the divine task of bringing the love of Christ to those who do not know Him, they become closer to one another. Especially we commend to the Churches the consideration of what steps can be taken to eliminate needless overlapping and competition in the local community; that in ways consistent with the genius of the several communions, our existing unity in Christ may be manifest to the world. (See the appended " Notes to Section IV," Note B.)

V

We note with gratitude to God the recent increase of effective co-operation in the Mission field. The purpose of all missionary work is to carry the eternal Gospel to the ends of the earth, so that it may meet the Spiritual needs of every nation and bring all men to the Saviour. Here more than anywhere else unity is essential. We note with sympathy the degree of union which has already been attained in many countries and the plans which are proposed for further union. We commend these plans to the Churches for their careful consideration.

The demand which comes from the Churches of the Mission field is that the Churches at home should grant them greater freedom of action, and that their hopes of unity should not be frustrated by the long-continued acquiescence in dis-union at home which makes it difficult to recognize how fatal dis-union is to the new indigenous Churches.

VI

Complete fellowship in the Church will be realized only when the way is opened for all God's children to join in communion at the Lord's Table. Through prayer and thoughtful deliberation the steps must be found which will most effectively lead to this goal. Ambiguous statements and hasty measures may hinder rather than hasten the work of unification. Yet if we are ever to become one, we must not shrink from the task. Some of us believe that full communion can be reached only at the end of the process of unification; others that it may be used by God as the means to that end. Whatever the way to the goal, complete unity will require that the Churches be so transformed that there may be full recognition of one another by members of all communions.

Nothing will do more to hasten the union for which we all long than that in our daily prayer, both as individuals and as Churches, we should remember one another. It has been suggested that a common prayer be sent out in the name of the Conference to be used at a convenient time by all Christian Churches. Especially would we bear on our hearts before God our brethren who are passing through suffering, praying that grace may be given to them to stand firm under their afflictions, and that to them and to us alike, God will grant the spirit of sacrifice as we remember the word of the Lord Jesus: " If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow Me." God give us, both as individuals and as Churches, wisdom and courage to do His Will.

NOTE TO SECTION II

It must be noted that representatives of the Orthodox Church would guard their acceptance of any diversity in matters of Faith and Order (Section II) by the following limitations.

(*a*) The types of expression so far as these types have been established by Ecumenical Synods must be maintained.

(*b*) Liberty of interpretation comes within the sphere of the Church as a whole and not of different sections or individuals.

(*c*) They cannot agree that "there must be some liberty of interpretation as to the nature of Sacramental grace, and of ministerial order and authority."

(*d*) They admit differences in worship so long as they do not diverge from the common doctrinal basis, on which is based the Holy Worship as handed down from the times of the Apostles.

NOTES TO SECTION IV, PAR. 3

(A) There are some who believe that co-operation should take the form of federation, either local, national, or international: others oppose federation, fearing that it may become a substitute for complete organic union. In the interest of clarity of thought it is important to remember that the word "federation" is used in at least three different senses. It may denote either:

1. A substitute for organic union.
2. A step on the road to organic union.
3. A form of organic union.

In discussing federation it is important to make clear in which of these different senses the word is used.

(B) It is suggested that in the case of communions of similar doctrine and polity, the desired expression of unity may often be secured by the method of denominational comity. In the case of those communions which are separated by fundamental differences of view, the problem is more difficult and will require special consideration.

DENOMINATIONAL STATISTICS—ALL COUNTRIES[1]

THE statistics found on the following pages have been compiled with great care from the very latest and most authentic sources, as follows:

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[1] These Statistics serve many purposes in our study. When they cease to be up-to-date, they will still indicate the names and numbers of the divisions of Christendom at this time.

Countries.	Catholics—Roman, Old, Orthodox, and Separate.*	
ALBANIA	Greek Church ... ... 158,215 Roman 88,987	
AUSTRIA	Old Catholics exist. Roman 6,225,299	Evangelical, of Augsburg and of He
BELGIUM	Roman Catholic clergy ... 6,030	Anglican clergy ... ... Protestant clergy of evangelical Chu
BULGARIA	Greek Orthodox ... ... 4,061,829 Other Catholics 34,072	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA ...	Old Catholics ... ... 20,255 3 other Catholic Faiths ... 1,061,814 Roman Catholics 10,386,719	Baptists ... ... National Branch of Methodist Episc Salvation Army centres ... ...
DENMARK	Greek Church ... ... 535 Roman Catholics 23,137	Baptists, Methodists, Reformists Lutherans ... ...
ESTHONIA	Greek Orthodox 167,194	Lutherans ... ...
FINLAND	Greek Church, also Raskolnics 59,026 Roman Catholics 616	Baptists ... ... Finnish Evangelic-Lutheran ...
FRANCE	¼ population practising Roman Catholics.	Evangelical Lutherans 30,000 Evangelical Methodists 30 parish French-speaking Baptists 29 church Independents ... 30 church
GERMANY	No recent statistics available.	Adventists ... ... Apostolic congregations and New Ap Baptists ... ... Evangelical Lutheran Free Church (88 parishes outside Prussia).
GREECE	Greek Orthodox majority. Roman Catholics ... ... 54 churches	Huguenots and Presbyterians repres Mennonites ... ...
HUNGARY	Greek Orientals ... ... 50,990 Greek Orthodox ... ... 175,247 Roman Catholic 5,096,729	Augsburg Evangelical ... ... Helvetic Evangelical ... ... Presbyterians ... ...
ICELAND		In population of 94,690, only 463 di
ITALY	Roman Catholics 32,983,664	123,253 Protestants, including 22,00 20 Salvation Army centres.
LATVIA	Greek Orthodox ... ... 167,130 Roman Catholic 408,540	Evangelical Lutherans ... ... Salvation Army centres ... ...
LITHUANIA	Kovno, Suvalki, Vilna } Greek Catholic 2·7% Roman Catholic 85·0% Memel Territory Roman Catholic 5%	Kovno, Suvalki, Vilna ... ... Memel Territory ... ...
NETHERLANDS	Old Catholics ... ... 10,000 Roman Catholics 2,500,000	Baptists ... ... Dutch Reformed ... ... Evangelical Lutheran Church ...
NORWAY	Roman Catholics 2,612	Baptists (Norwegian) ... 7,500 Lutheran Free Church ... 18,000
POLAND	Greek Orthodox ... ... 3,100,000 Roman Catholics 21,000,000	Lutherans and Calvinists as United
PORTUGAL	Roman Catholic majority.	Various Protestants ... ...
RUMANIA	Armenians ... ... 17,596 Greek Catholics ... ... 1,456,147 Roman Catholics ... ... 1,483,929 (Russian) Orthodox Church 9,695,714	Various Protestants ... ...
RUSSIA	Russian Orthodox Church supreme before the Soviet *régime*. No recent statistics. 1917–1923 Uniate Byzantine Rite made converts.	
CROATIA ... ... **DALMATIA** ... ... **MONTENEGRO** ... ... **SERBIA**	Greek Catholics ... ... 41,597 Greek Orthodox ... ... 5,602,227 Roman Catholics 4,735,154	Various Protestants ... ...
SPAIN	Roman Catholic majority.	Protestants ... ...
SWEDEN	Roman Catholics 3,425	Baptists ... ... Evangelical Lutherans ... ...
SWITZERLAND	Roman Catholics 1,585,311	"The Federation of the Protestant Salvation Army centres ...

* Adherents. † All resident baptized Christians are regarded as m

rs, Evangelicals, and Others.			Jews.	Moham-medans.
				584,675
ion		206,548	194,595	
18 21	Salvation Army centres	20	Rabbis ... 17	
				690,734
5,000 8,958 14	The Free Reformed Evangelical Church ...	6,000	354,342	
42,381 20,000*	Others ... ... Salvation Army has 140 centres.	17,349	5,947	
13,797				
9,330 99,919*	Salvation Army centres	257	1,685	93
ission ... ... 31 stations n Army ... ... 116 centres f Evangelical Re- l Churches ... 80,000‡	Union of Free Evangelical Churches... Union of Reformed Churches ...	48 churches 56,000		
00 0 parishes. 00 00	Evangelical Reformed Free Churches ... 12 parishes German Evangelical Church Federation (28 State Churches) ... ... 37,702,353† Salvation Army ... ... 239 centres			
17,000	Methodists ... ... 14,400 Salvation Army ... ... 503 officers		473,310	
497,012 370,144 10,487	Unitarians	6,224		
n Evangelical Lutheran National Church.			34,324	
ns and 3,453 Methodist Episcopalians.			92,850	
058,490 10			Kovno Suvalki Vilna } 7·7%	
4% 90%			109,300	
68,000 300,000 87,000	Jansenists ... ... 10,461 Reformed Churches in the Netherlands ... 620,000 Salvation Army centres 136			
State Church ... 2,533,400* Episcopal ... 11,500	Quakers ... ... 73 Salvation army centres 1,571		2,800,000	6,000
... ...		1,010,000	481	
4,491			834,344	44,087
344,970				
216,847			64,159	1,337,687
7,000	Rationalists	19,000	4,000	
7,205 880,941*	Methodists ... ... 5,452 Salvation Army centres 1,420		6,469	
Switzerland" ... 2,230,597 419			20,979	

ese 28 State Churches unless they formally resign. ‡ Voting members.

Religions or Denominations.	England and Wales.	Scotland.
Anglican	2,700,697	593,000
Baptist	417,527	23,097
Brethren	80,000	
Buddhist		
Catholic, Apostolic	Over 80 places of worship.	
Catholic, Roman	2,055,860*	606,650*
Church of Christ	16,000	
Church of Ireland		
Confucian		
Congregational	451,000	176 churches.
Countess of Huntington's Connexion	1,700	
Friends	19,147	
Greek Orthodox		
Jewish	300,000 in British Isles.	
Lutheran		
Mennonite		
Mohammedan		
Moravian	3,520	
Methodist		16,440
Independent Methodist	10,502	
Primitive Methodist	220,806	
United Methodist	153,757	
Wesleyan	549,100	45 churches.
Wesleyan Reformed Union	10,178	
Calvinistic	189,000	
Presbyterian	85,109	
Salvation Army§	1635 centres in	the British Isles.
Scotland, Church of	10 churches	762,774†
Free Church of Scotland		180 churches
United Free Church of Scotland		536,409
Seventh Day Advent		
Unitarian	350 places of worship	5 places of worship
United Church of Canada		
Other Catholics		
Other Protestants		

* Adherents. † Co-operates with Presbyterian Church of Australia, S. Africa, and C
‖ India and British Sections of A

TH OF NATIONS.‖

Ireland.	Canada.	Newfoundland.	Australia.	New Zealand.
249,505	1,407,994* 256,096‡	84,665	2,372,995*	514,607
3,430	421,731* 140,474‡			19,926
	11,580*			11,055
	11,281*		2,065	
3,242,670*	3,389,636*	86,576*	1,172,661*	165,577*
575,489				
	27,114*		2,692	
			75,513	7,977
	169,832*		5,372	
	125,197*		21,615	2,380
	286,458*		57,519	
	58,797*			
			2,868	
		74,205	632,629	112,344
109,748	163,000‡	1,876	636,974	299,545
	24,733* 863 centres	13,023	31,589 595 centres	11,591 361 centres
			11,305	
			1,714	
	629,549‡			
			38,659	
	40,379*		67,112	

‡ Christian century, April 26th, 1928. § Official statistics give centres of work world-wide.
pi esented under Asia and Africa.

Adventists:	
Advent Christians	28,297
Church of God	4,400
Churches of God in Christ	3,490
Life and Advent Union	650
Seventh Day	112,255
Assemblies of God	50,386
Baptists:	
Freewill (f)	54,996
Freewill (Coloured)	13,800
General	32,050
General Six-Principle	400
National Convention (Coloured) (f) ...	3,014,528
Northern Convention (f)	1,464,167
Primitive	99,000
Primitive (Coloured)	15,144
Regular	49,184
Separate	4,000
Seventh Day (f)	8,183
Seventh Day (German)	175
Southern Convention	3,611,608
Two-Seed-in-Spirit Predestinarian ...	679
Brethren (Dunkards):	
Church of God	1,000
Conservative	120,103
Old Order	3,260
Progressive	25,797
Brethren (Plymouth) (6 bodies)	13,244
Brethren (River) (3 bodies)	5,019
Buddhist Japanese	5,639
Catholic Apostolic (2 bodies)	2,768
Catholics (Eastern)*:	
Albanian Orthodox, 6 churches.	
Armenian Apostolic	86,000
Bulgarian Orthodox	3,130
Greek (Hellenic) Orthodox	256,000
Roumanian Orthodox	7,500
Russian Orthodox	200,000
Serbian Orthodox	100,000
Syrian (Antioch) Orthodox	26,000
Syrian Orthodox	51,000
Catholics (Western)*:	
American Old Catholic	25,000
Polish National Catholic	84,000
Roman Catholic	16,047,9
Christadelphians	3,9
Christian Church (f)	116,4
Christian Union	17,8
Church of Christ, Scientist†	202,0
Church of God and Saints of Christ (Coloured)	3,3
Church of God (Winebrenner) (f)	28,4
Church of God, General Assembly	21,0
Churches of Living God (Coloured) (2 bodies)	5,0
New Jerusalem Churches:	
General Church	1,0
General Convention	5,4
Church of the Nazarene	59,7
Nommunistic Societies:	
Amana	1,5
Shakers	2
Congregational Churches (f)	892,5
Evangelical Protestant, Uniting ...	15,0
Disciples of Christ:	
Churches of Christ...	317,9
Disciples of Christ (f)	1,441,4
Evangelical Church (f)	202,9
Evangelical Associations (15 bodies)	13,9
Evangelical Synod, N.A. (f)	305,6
Free Church Zion (Coloured)	6,2
Friends:	
"Hicksite"	16,8
Orthodox (f)	95,1
Primitive	2
"Wilburite"	3,5
Jewish‡	357,1
Latter Day Saints:	
Latter Day Saints (Utah)	535,6
Reorganized Church	89,5
Lutherans:	
(1) Bodies co-operative through National Lutheran Coun	
Augustana Synod	215,7
Buffalo	6,5
Church of Lutheran Brethren	1,0
Danish Church	13,1
Eielsen's Synod	8
Finnish Apostolic Church...	20,0
Finnish National Church	5,0
Icelandic Synod	1,4

* Adherents. † Christian Century, March 22nd, 1928. ‡ Mainly heads of families. (f) Membe
(fc) Consultative relat

OF AMERICA.

utherans:	
Iowa Synod	137,792
Jehovah Conference	915
Joint Ohio Synod	151,561
Lutheran Free Church	30,750
Norwegian Lutheran Church	289,233
Suomai Synod (Finnish)	19,978
United Danish Church	17,660
United Lutheran Church (fc)	850,440
2) Synodical Conference:	
Joint Wisconsin Synod	139,226
Missouri Synod	628,695
Negro Mission	2,475
Norwegian Synod	4,583
Slovak Synod	6,534
3) Independent Congregations	2,600
ndinavian Evangelical:	
Norwegian Evangelical Free	3,000
Swedish Evangelical Free	6,208
Swedish Evangelical Mission Cov. ...	33,550
nnonites:	
Brethren in Christ...	7,587
Bruedergemeinde (Krimmer)	1,450
Central Conference	2,874
Church of God in Christ	1,300
Conservative Amish	1,389
Defenceless	1,240
General Conference	19,937
Mennonite Brethren	1,200
Mennonite Church...	36,639
Miscellaneous	1,186
Old Order Amish	7,627
Old Order (Wisler)	1,446
Reformed	1,764
thodists:	
African Methodist Episcopal (f)	698,029
African Methodist Episcopal, Zion (f) ...	490,000
African Union Methodist Protestant ...	25,000
Coloured Methodist Episcopal (f) ...	342,001
Congregational Methodist	21,050
Free Methodist	37,561
Methodist Episcopal (f)	4,516,806
Methodist Episcopal, South (f)	2,534,112
Methodist Protestant (f)	189,583

Methodists:	
New Congregational Methodist (Coloured)	1,256
Primitive Methodist (f)	11,905
Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal (Col.)	2,272
Reformed Zion Union Apostolic (Col.) ...	8,500
Union American Methodist Episcopal (Col.)	21,115
Wesleyan Methodist	21,000
Moravians:	
Moravian Church (f)	24,699
Union of Bohemians, etc....	3,105
Non-sectarian Bible Faith Churches	6,281
Pentecostal Churches:	
Holiness	926
Pentecostal Holiness	5,353
Pilgrim Holiness	12,362
Presbyterians:	
Associate Presbyterian	450
Associate Presbyterian Synod (South) ...	19,721
Cumberland Presbyterian	63,477
Cumberland Presbyterian (Coloured) ...	13,077
Presbyterian, U.S. (Southern) (f) ...	457,093
Presbyterian, U.S.A. (Northern) (f) ...	1,828,916
Reformed Presbyterian General Synod	3,250
Reformed Presbyterian Synod	7,364
United Presbyterian (f)	168,638
Protestant Episcopal (fa)	1,164,911
Reformed:	
Christian Reformed	47,612
Reformed in America (f)	145,373
Reformed in U.S. (f)	348,002
Reformed Episcopal (f)	8,622
Salvation Army (2054 centres)	74,416
American Rescue Workers	6,946
Schwenkfelders	1,536
Social Brethren	1,800
Society for Ethical Culture	3,000
Spiritualists	75,000
Temple Society	260
Unitarians	58,024
United Brethren:	
United Brethren in Christ (f)	392,155
United Brethren (Old Const.)	19,801
Universalist	59,650
Independent Congregations	48,673

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
to Federal Council.

(fa) On certain Federal Council Committees only.

Countries.	Roman Catholics.	
ARGENTINA	Majority	Brethren Church ... ... 16 Christian and Missionary Alliance ... ... 21 Church of Nazarene ... ... 2 Independent... 3
BAHAMAS		Bahamas Baptist Union ... ... 7,92 Church of England 5,00
BERMUDA		United Holy Church of America 33
BOLIVIA	Majority	Canadian Baptist 9
BRAZIL	Majority	Methodist Episcopal, South ... ... 11,67 Obebro Missionsförening ... ... 47 Presbyterian Church of Brazil 19,38
BRITISH GUIANA		African Methodist Episcopal, Zion ... ... 13 Church of England ... ... 14,00 Congregational 3,93
BRITISH LESSER ANTILLES		Anglican ... ... 39,381* Moravian ...
CHILE...	Majority	Christian and Missionary Alliance ... ... 1,07 Methodist Episcopal 1,93
COLOMBIA	Majority	Presbyterians in U.S.A. 53
COSTA RICA	Majority	Central American Mission 38
CUBA	Majority	Baptist ... ... 2,33 Friends 50
DUTCH GUIANA		Church of England 9
DUTCH WEST INDIES ...	624,116*	Reformed and Lutheran ... 12,500 Moravian ...
EQUADOR	Majority	Christian and Missionary Alliance 1
FRENCH GUIANA		No statistics.
GUATEMALA		Central American Mission ... ... 2,56 Church of the Nazarene 20
HAITI		Protestant Episcopal (U.S.) 1,91
HONDURAS		Central American Mission 28
JAMAICA		African Methodist Episcopal ... ... 1,30 Christian and Missionary Alliance ... ... 41 Congregational Union of Jamaica ... ... 2,86 Friends 41
MEXICO	15,033,176*	Baptists ... ... 1,80 Congregational ... ... 7 Friends ... ... 23 Methodist Episcopal 4,57
NICARAGUA		Baptist 27
PANAMA	23,000*	Free Methodist ... ... 48 Methodist Episco
PARAGUAY	Majority	3 Missions at work, but no statistics.
PERU	Majority	Church of the Nazarene 1
PORTO RICO	1,000,000*	Baptist ... ... 2,467 Methodist Episc Christian Church ... ... 286 Others ...
SALVADOR		Baptist 58
SANTO DOMINGO ...		Free Methodists ... ... 142 Moravians ...
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO		Anglican ... ... 14,0 Methodist Episcopal, African 2
URUGUAY	Majority	Methodist Episcopal 6
VENEZUELA...	Majority	6 American Societies 2
VIRGIN ISLANDS		African Methodist Episcopal, Zion 1
ALL LATIN AMERICA ...	80,101,577*	The Salvation Army has 224 centres of work in the W

*

PROTESTANTS AND OTHERS.

ndian Missions	200	Southern Baptist	2,333
Mennonite	60	United Christian Missionary Society	130
Methodist Episcopal	3,961	United Lutheran in America	53
eventh Day Advent	1,707		
Methodist: African Methodist Episcopal, Zion...	110	Methodist: Wesleyan	2,736
		Seventh Day Advent	73
Methodist Episcopal	55	Seventh Day Advent	174
resbyterian Church in U.S.	4,562	Seventh Day Advent	3,871
resbyterian Church in U.S.A.	3,935	Southern Baptist	23,087
rotestant Episcopal (U.S.)	2,171		
Moravians	549	United Lutheran in America	335
resbyterian of Canada	372	Wesleyan	4,351
eventh Day Advent	39		
.. ... 4,645 Seventh Day Advent		2,963 Wesleyan	14,257
resbyterian in U.S.A.	1,264	Southern Baptist	1,085
eventh Day Advent	680		
Methodist Episcopal	42	Wesleyan	302
resbyterian in U.S.A.	2,500	Seventh Day Advent	319
rotestant Episcopal (U.S.)	2,029	Southern Baptist	2,157
Missions—Direktion der Brüdergemeine ...	7,206		
162 Hindus ... 25,765* Jews	738	Mohammedans 23,549*	
eventh Day Advent	20		
Friends	2,035	Seventh Day Advent	35
resbyterian Church in U.S.A.	1,408		
eventh Day Advent	627	Wesleyan	199
eventh Day Advent	300	Wesleyan	2,523
amaica Baptist Missionary Society	138	Scotland, Church of	3,400
amaica Baptist Union	30,574	Scotland, United Free Church of	11,376
oravians	6,177	United Christian Missionary Society	2,504
eventh Day Advent	2,000	Wesleyan	18,370
ethodist Episcopal Church, South	9,051	Seventh Day Advent	372
resbyterian (Associated Reformed)	81	Southern Baptist	3,545
resbyterian in U.S.	1,851	United Christian Missionary Society	277
resbyterian in U.S.A.	1,505		
ntral American Mission	625	Moravians	2,961
... ... 166 Protestant Episcopal (U.S.) ...		1,667 Wesleyan	1,667
ethodist Episcopal	327	Seventh Day Advent	3,522
... ... 950 Protestant Episcopal (U.S.) ... Seventh Day Advent 531		500 United Lutheran	1,279
ntral American Mission	267	Seventh Day Advent	94
... 187 Others 209		Wesleyan	529
ravian	1,856	United Free Church of Scotland	441
esbyterian in Canada	1,447	Wesleyan	2,919
venth Day Advent	195	Southern Baptist	30
urch of England	1,000	Others	107
ravian ... ... 1,693 Others ...	62	United Lutheran Church in America	1,058

s; 112 elsewhere in S.A.

s.

AFRICA.

Religions or Denominations.	Central Africa.	East Africa.	North Africa.	Union of S. Africa.	South Africa.	West Africa.
Africa Inland Mission (International) ...	621	1,066				
Anglican	45,112	12,620	215	714,085*	7,000	32,889
Protestant Episcopal						3,772
Baptists	11,656			39,358*		8,257
Southern Baptist Convention ...						2,175
Native Baptist Union for West Africa						
Berliner Missionsgesellschaft					33,256	
Buddhist				12,550*		
Christian and Missionary Alliance ...	3,633					
Church of the Nazarene			162			
Confucian				1,606*		
Congregational				20,000 156,321*	9,147	
Dutch Reformed				337,457 1,115,468		
Finska Missionssalls Kapet					5,613	
Friends					3,779	
Greek Orthodox			854,778*	2,286*		
Hindu				109,283*		
Jewish				62,438*		
London Missionary Society					27,768	
Lutheran				260,905*		
Evangelical (American)		2,986				
Evangelisch-lutheran					43,883	
Lutheran Free Church					1,532	
Norwegian Lutheran Church of America					1,596	
Methodists: African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church						3,972
Methodist Episcopal		2,247	148			6,834
Methodist Missionary Society of						

Wesleyan		4,225			28,925	58,653
Wesleyan Methodist Church for South Africa				112,363 832,793*		
Mission Suisse Romande		2,415				
Mohammedan			11,658,148*	50,038*		
National Algiers Mission Band			12			
Nederderitsche Geref. Kerk					1,534	
Norske Missionssels Kats					86,004	
North Africa Mission (British)						
Parsee			17†	888*		
Plymouth Brethren				2,019*		
Presbyterians				17,550 190,896*		
Presbyterian Church in U.S.	21,224					
Presbyterian Church in U.S.A. ...						30,556
United Presbyterian			16,248*			
Qua Iboe Mission						8,996
Reinische Mission					22,167	
Roman Catholic	303,632*	192,108*	107,687*	165,630*	152,685*	124,278*
Salvation Army		10 centres		467 centres 4,114*		
Scotland: Church of Scotland	4,875					
United Free Church of Scotland ...	13,654	2,967			22,148	24,245
Seventh Day Advent		5		17,580*		1,507
Société des Missions évangelique de Paris					44,669	20,348
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel		1,535			7,537	
United Christian Missionary Society ...	8,679					
West Indian African Mission						210
Other Christians		1,208 in 5 Continental Societies.	61,897*	16,196*		2,000

* Adherents. † Statistics incomplete.

Countries.		
ARABIA	Almost exclusively Mohammedan.	
CEYLON	Anglican	21,377
	Congregational	14,696
	Baptist	1,083
	Buddhist	2,769,805
	Ceylon and India General Mission	56
CHINA	Anglican	12,299
	Baptists :	
	British	9,819
	Northern	10,244
	Southern	29,580
	Chinese Societies	2,565
	Christian and Missionary Alliance	3,688
	Congregational	17,799
	Greek Orthodox	25,000
	London Missionary Society	11,963
	Lutheran (Norwegian of U.S.A.)	5,681
FORMOSA	Japanese Congregational	154
	Japanese Church of Christ (Presbyterian and Reformed)	494
FRENCH INDO-CHINA	Christian and Missionary Alliance	432
INDIA	Abyssinian	1
	Anglican	533,180
	Armenian	1,467
	Baptist	444,479
	Buddhist	789,575
	Congregational	123,016
	Greek	237
	Hindu	21,223,432
	Jain	399,307
	Jew	15,548
JAPAN	Allgemeiner Evangelisch — Protestantischer Missions—Verein	582
	Assembly of God	110
	Baptist	4,438
	Christian Convention	651
	Christian and Missionary Alliance	249
	Church of God	120
	Congregational (Japanese Church, "Kumiai Kyokwai")	25,491
	Evangelical Church of N.A.	1,739
	Free Methodist Church of N.A.	578
	Friends	700
	Japan Evangelistic Band	170
KOREA	English Church Mission	2,857
	Japanese Congregational : Koreans	9,000
	Japanese	600
	Methodist Episcopal	19,480
MALAY (BRITISH)	Methodist Episcopal	4,089
MAURITIUS	Church of England and Scotland	3,371
MESOPOTAMIA OR IRAQ	Reformed Church in America	3
	Seventh Day Advent	2
NETHERLANDS INDIES	12 Continental Societies	120,187
	Methodist Episcopal	850
PALESTINE AND SYRIA	Anglican	1,005
	Bahais	265
	Druzes	117,028
PERSIA	Anglican	221
	Armenian	50,000*
	Nestorian Christians	30,000*
PHILIPPINES	Baptist	3,533
	Congregational	1,940
	Episcopal	1,947
RUSSIA	No recent statistics.	
SIAM	Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.	8,222
TONGA, "FRIENDLY ISLANDS" ...	Free Church of Tonga	4,000
TURKEY	Congregational ... . 3,871 (647 in Europe)	

Religions or Denominations.			
rch in America	7		
... ...	982,073		
... ...	302,532		
y	174 centres		
ns Mission	104		
... ...	7,100		
		Reformed Church in America	3,000
Episcopal	48,694	Roman Catholic	2,208,800*
Methodists	10,467	Salvation Army	48 centres
Methodists	22,678	Seventh Day Advent	4,277
:		Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ...	2,345
a	4,934	Societies from Europe	31,636
nd	10,069	United Free Church of Scotland	9,612
l	8,410		
... ...	7,921		
... ...	44,743		
iscopal	7,167		
copal Church	179	United Church of Canada	2,677
Church of England	5,545		
... ...	240,816	South India United Church	65,747
... ...	208,135	Syrian	791,556
ant Denominations	26,852	Chaldean	1,926
... ...	8,516,016	Jacobite	252,989
... ...	254,838	Nestorian	97
nsectarian or Sect not specified) ...	73,909	Reformed (Marthoma)	112,017
... ...	1,036	Romo-Syrian	423,968
ic	1,823,079	Unspecified	559
,504 centres)	88,922	Sect not returned	75,904
... ...	213,623	Zoroastrian	88,699
Mission	75	Presbyterian, U.S.	1,149
el Association of Finland ...	701	Presbyterian, U.S.A.	4,271
an Church in America	1,500	Presbyterian of England	6,402
ist Kyokwai (Union of Methodist		Reformed in America	799
of Canada Methodist Episcopal		Reformed in U.S.A.	4,571
d South)	28,789	Roman Catholic	90,186
o Kwai (Union of all Anglicanan d		Russian Orthodox	15,000
Churches)	20,453	Salvation Army (133 centres)	9,045
... ...	650	United Brethren in Christ	1,605
nary Society	3,123	United Church of Canada	2,677
nds of the World	110	Yotsuya Mission	470
and Reformed in Union Church,			
Kirisuto Kyokwai" (Church of Christ)	38,510		
scopal Church, South	7,409	Salvation Army	152 centres
terian Church	53,008	Seventh Day Advent	1,146
nary Society	5,795	United Church of Canada	6,527
hurch of Victoria	4,964		
Propagation of the Gospel ...	5,000		
ic	122,424*		
ristians	78,792*	Jews	78,792*
... ...	2,640,700*		
dies Agencies	352,146	Seventh Day Advent	211
y	147 centres		
... ...	83,794	Samaritans	163
... ...	2,204,694	Unclassified Christians	73,024
hurch in U.S.A.	3,184		
hurch in U.S.A.	624	Parsees	10,000*
... ...	40,000*		
... ...	8,350,000*		
... ...	14,689	United Brethren in Christ	3,444
... ...	8,620,378*	United Christian Missionary Society	8,675
dvent	2,924		
... ...	3,000	Wesleyan Free Church of Tonga	16,000

predominate.

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